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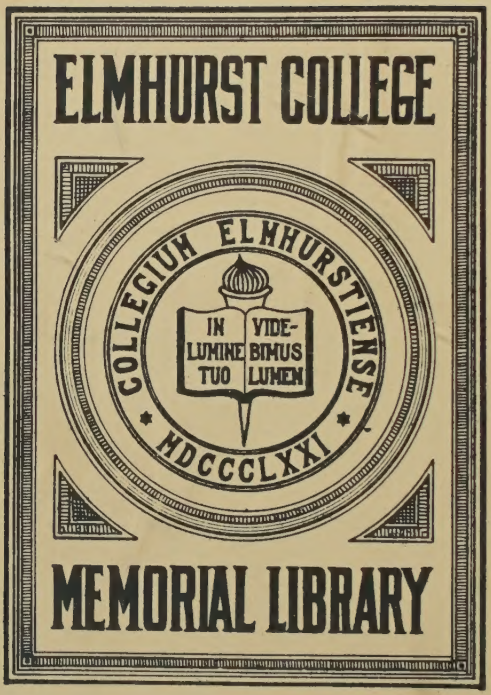
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Regents' Edition

THE DIARIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON 1748–1799

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME II

UP, up betimes, and taste the morning air,
Walk o'er your lands, and take your pleasure there;
At noon recline beneath some spreading trees,
And in the evening snuff the cooling breeze.

1	fri	*Cloudy, and*	♑	29	4 41	7 19	A	□ ♄ ♂
2	sat	Visit. V. M.	♒	12	4 42	7 18	9 17	
3	B.	5 p. Trinity.		26	4 42	7 18	9 47	♅ set 11 33.
4	mo	*warm.*	♓	10	4 42	7 18	10 13	
5	tue	*Refreshing*		23	4 43	7 17	10 39	□ ☉ ♅
6	we	*showers about*	♈	8	4 43	7 17	11 3	□ ☉ ☽. ☽ near ♂
7	thu	*this time.*		22	4 43	7 17	11 37	△ ♂ ♆
8	fri	*Clear, and*	♉	6	4 44	7 16	12 11	✶ ♅ ♆
9	sat	*pleasant.*		21	4 44	7 16	Morn	☉ coming towards ♀
10	B.	6 n. Trinity.	♊	5	4 45	7 15	12 43	☽ near ♀
11	mo	*Cloudy, and*		19	4 45	7 15	1 28	□ ♅ ♂
12	tue	*close.*	♋	3	4 46	7 14	2 27	☽ near ♄
13	we	☉ eclip. invi.		17	4 46	7 14	Moon	♂ ☉ ☽
14	thu	*Expect*	♌	1	4 47	7 13	Set	△ ♅ ♀. ♅ set 10 51.
15	fri	*a good*		14	4 48	7 12	A	☽ near ♆
16	sat	*deal of*		27	4 48	7 12	8 7	♆ set 8 40.
17	B.	7 p. Trinity.	♍	10	4 49	7 11	8 41	✶ ♂ ♀
18	mo	*rain now,*		22	4 49	7 11	8 59	
19	tue	*with sharp*	♎	4	4 50	7 10	9 4	✶ ♀ ♆
20	we	*thunder and*		16	4 51	7 9	9 25	☽ near ♅
21	thu	*lightning.*		28	4 51	7 9	9 50	□ ☉ ☽
22	fri	☉ in ♌	♏	9	4 52	7 8	10 28	☿'s rise 12 o.
23	sat	*Cool, and*		21	4 53	7 7	11 3	
24	B.	8 p. Trinity.	♐	3	4 53	7 7	11 47	
25	mo	St. James.		16	4 54	7 6	Morn	
26	tue	*pleasant for*		28	4 55	7 5	12 36	
27	we	*the season.*	♑	11	4 56	7 4	1 49	
28	thu	*Fine growing*		24	4 57	7 3	Moon	
29	fri	*weather.*	♒	8	4 58	7 2	Rise	☉ ☽
30	sat	DOG D. beg.		22	4 58	7 2	A	♅ set 9 48.
31	B.	9 p. Trinity.	♓	6	4 59	7 1	8 11	☿'s rise 11 22.

BUT more than all the setting Sun survey,
When down the steep of Heaven he drives the day;
For oft we find him finishing his race,
With various colours erring on his face.

Where & how – my time is spent.

July 1. Went over to Stafford Court House – to a meeting of the Mississipi – dined and lodged there. –

2. Dined at Dumfries and reached home

3 at Home all day. –

4. Rid to see my Wheat at different Places. Doct. Dunmore came here in the Evening.

5 Went to Muddy hole with Doct. Dunmore to see the Cradling at work.

6 Rid to Muddy hole and Doct. Dunmore & the Doct. Dunmore went away. When he returned found Mr. Mc. Lee & Doct. Lee here.

7. Mr. Lees went away – Mr. Darnel & Daughter – Mr. Geo. Digges & his two eldest Sisters came here & stayed all night

8 Doct. Lee & all the rest went away & Rid to the Bodies (Cutting my Wheat at the Mill)

9 Rid to Muddy hole, the Mill and Doct. Dun before Dinner – & to the Mill afterwards – where my People was having a Reaping

10 Went to Church and returned to Dinner

11. Rid to Muddy hole, where they were reaping & then to the Mill where we were Cutting & then to the Mill where we were Cutting & Wheat – Mr. Rickets came with his Wife Miss Mc Carty & Dr. Dunmore came.

12. Rid to Muddy hole before breakfast & where the hands were employed the Wheat the Company went away.

13 Went in to the Neck where I this day began my Harvest Labor. Fairfax & Doct. Dick here & returned

14. Attended in the Neck Again

15 Went over again & Drove back by Rals about the Clock which detained all the Gentlemen –

THE DIARIES OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON
1748-1799

EDITED BY
JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, A.M.

VOLUME II
1771–1785

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1771

January 1–December 31

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THE DIARIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

1771

JANUARY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid to my Mill in the forenoon and afternoon.

2. Did the same thing again. Met Colo. Robt. Fairfax there, and upon my return home found Mr. Piper, Mr. Muir, and Doctr. Rumney here, who dined and lodgd.

3. The above Gentlemen stayed all day and Night. My Brother John and Mr. Lawe. Washington came here to Dinner.

4. After Breakfast Mr. Piper, Mr. Muir, and Doctr. Rumney returnd to Alexa. My Brothr. Mr. Lawrence Washington and self went to the Mill.

5. My Brother and Mr. Lawe. Washington set of for Frederick. I went a hunting with the two Mr. Triplet's and Mr. Peake, but Killd nothing.

6. At home all day alone.

7. The two Colo. Fairfax's and Mrs. Fairfax dined and lodged here.

8. The same Company dined here again, but went away in the Evening.

9. Rid to the Mill in the forenoon and afternoon.

10. Mr. Robt. Adam and Mr. Josh. Watson [1] dined and lodged here. Before they came I had rid to my Mill in the forenoon.

11. The above Gentlemen dined here again to day, and went away in the Afternoon. In the forenoon we all went to the Mill.

12. Went a huntg. with the two Mr. Triplet's, Mr. Manley, and Mr. Peake. Run a Deer to the Water, but killd nothing.

13. Mrs. Washington, Patcy Custis and myself, Dined and lodged at Belvoir.

14. Dined there this day also and Returnd home after it.

15. Rid to the Mill and Race in the forenoon and afternoon.

16. Rid to the Mill and up the Mill Race in the afternoon.

17. Rid to the Mill, &ca. in the Afternn., and went up to Alexa. with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis in the afternoon.

18. Rid to my Mill and the Race above it in the forenoon, at home afterwards.

19. Went a hunting in Compa. with the two Mr. Triplet's, Mr. Manley and Mr. Peake. Killed a Fox after two hours' Chase. In the afternoon rid to where my People were at work on the Mill Race.

[1] Josiah Watson, Alexandria merchant. (*Toner.*)

20. Went to Pohick Church with Mrs. Washington and returnd to Dinr. Mr. Ball dined here.

21. Went up to Court, Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis with me. Returnd in the afternoon, and Mr. Hr. Ross with us.

22. Dined at home and afterwards went to Colchester with Mr. Ross, on my way to Dumfries on the Arbitration between Doctr. Ross and Co. and Mr. Semple.

23. Waited at Colchester till 2 Oclock for Colo. Mason. Dined at Courts's [1] and went to Dumfries afterwards and to the Play of the Recruitg. Officer. Lodgd at Mr. Montgomeries.[2]

24. On the Arbitration.

25. Ditto . . . Ditto

26. Ditto . . . Ditto

27. Receivg. News of part of my Mill wall's falling in I came home to Dinner, and found Miss Molly Manley here.

28. Returnd to Dumfries on the above arbitration.

29. Employd therein. In the Evening went to a Play.[3]

30. Imployd as above, and abt. oclock at Night finishd all the business we coud at this meeting.

[1] William Courts kept an inn at Colchester.

[2] Under January 26th, in Ledger A, is the entry, 'By 2 pr of Shoes from Mr. Montgomerie 13*s* 5*d*.'

[3] 'By two Play Tickets 10*s*. By Exps. at the Play 6*s*. 3d.' (*Ledger A*.)

31. Returnd home by my Mill and the Dam where my People were attempting to stop Water.

FEBRUARY [1]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At the Mill in the forenoon and afternoon. Doctr. Rumney came here before Dinner and stayd all Night.

2. At the Mill and where my People was at work on the Race in the forenoon and afternoon. Mr. Rutherford [2] and Price Posey [3] came here in the Evening.

3. Val. Crawford came this afternoon and Price Posey went away in ye Morng.

4. Mr. Rutherford went away after breakfast. I rid to my Mill, &ca. Doctor Rumney came to Dinner, and Doctr. Craik in the afternoon. Both stayd all Night.

5. The Gentlemen all went away. I rid to my Mill in the forenoon and afternoon.

6. Rid to my Mill by the Ferry in the forenoon and afternoon. Price Posey came here this Evening.

7. Price Posey went away. I rid to the Mill and Dam at the head of the Race in the forenoon and afternoon.

8. Rid to my Mill and Tumbling Dam in the forenoon

[1] In February of this year Washington began a record on the margin of the printed almanac page which consists of letters and symbols; unintelligible to us now and, as they were not incorporated by him in his regular diary entries, they are omitted from this publication. (See note January 31, 1797, *post.*)

[2] Robert Rutherford, of Frederick County, Virginia.

[3] Son of Captain John Posey.

and afternoon. Doctr. Rumney dind here and went away afterwds.

9. Attempted to go a hunting, but prevented by Rain. Rid to the Mill in the fore and afternoon.

10. At home all day. Mr. Val Crawford came to Dinner.

11. Rid by my Mill and Dam at the head of the Race on my way to an arbitration between John Graham and the Estate of Allan Macrae decd.

12. At Colchester on the said Arbitration.

13. Ditto — at Ditto — on Ditto

14. Ditto — at Ditto — on Ditto

15. Ditto — at Ditto — on Ditto — in Company with Colo. Mason and Colo. T. Lee [1] the other arbitrators, Mr. T. Mason and Mr. Mercer the Attorneys.

16. Still at Colchester upon the same business and in the same Company till 8 Oclock at Night.

17. Returnd home to Breakfast by my Mill Dam. Found my Brother Charles and one Mr. Thompson [2] here who came on Friday last.

18. Those two Gentlemen went a Gunning and I rid to my Mill in the forenoon.

[1] This was Thomas Ludwell Lee (1730–78), of 'Bellevue,' in Stafford, who died a judge of the General Court of Virginia.

[2] Toner thinks a son of the Reverend John Thompson, of St. Mark's, Culpeper County. If this guess is correct, the individual would have been William Thompson (b. 1745), who was Parson John Thompson's son by the widow of Governor Spotswood. William married a daughter of Charles Carter, of Cleve. (See Philip Slaughter, *History of St. Mark's Parish*, Baltimore, 1877.)

19. They went a Ducking and I again Rid to my Mill in the forenoon.

20. Rid to my Mill. Colo. Thos. Lee came here to Dinner. My Bro: and Mr. Thompson a Ducking.

21. At home all day. Col. Lee still here. The other Gentn. went a Ducking.

22. Rid to my Mill in the forenoon. All the Gentlemen went away after Breakfast. Doctr. Rumney came in the Afternoon and stayd all Night.

23. I rid to the Mill before breakfast and returnd to Dinner. Doctor Rumney went away after breakfast.

24. At Home all day alone.

25. Rid to the Mill in the forenoon and afternoon. Colo. Robt. Fairfax made a Morning visit here.

26. Detaind at home all day by bad Weather.

27. Rid to my Mill in the forenoon and afternoon. Colo. Robt. Fairfax dined here.

28. Rid to the Mill in the forenoon. Mr. Ross and Mr. Peter Waggener came here in the Evening and stayed all Night.

[MARCH]

Where & how my time is disposd of.

1. Messrs. Ross and Wagener went away after breakfast. I rid to my Mill and Ditchers in the forenoon. In the afternoon Doctr. Craik came.

2. The Doctr. and I set of for Winchester.[1] Dined at Triplet's and lodgd at West's.

3. Dined at Barry's (on Shanondoah) and reached Greenway Court [2] in the Afternoon, where we stayd all Night.

4. Reachd Winchester to Dinner according to appointment with the Officers, &ca., claimg. part of the 200,000 Acs. of L[an]d.

5. At Winchester all day. Dined with Lord Fairfax.

6. Dined at my Lodging, which was at Mr. Philp. Bushe's,[3] and went home with my Br., Mr. Saml. Washington, in ye Eveng.

7. At my Brothers all day writing Instructions and dispatches for Captn. Crawford, the Surveyor of our 200,000 Acs. of Land.

8. Ditto — about Ditto. —

9. Finished Ditto for Mr. Marcus Stephenson,[4] who was to be the bearer of them. Mr. Dick and the two Mr. Nurse's [5] dined at my Brother's to day.

[1] '1771, Feby. To Advertising the Meetg. Winchester in both Gazettes — 3 Weeks each. 14*s*.' (*Ledger A.*) The meeting was to report to the officers of the Virginia Regiment his proceedings in the journey down the Ohio to select the lands for his brother officers, under the Dinwiddie Proclamation of 1754. The meeting was held March 5th, and Washington rendered his accounts and made his report. The original proceedings of this meeting are in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress. Captain William Crawford, who had made the journey with Washington, was appointed by the officers to make the necessary surveys. (See entry for March 7th.) A number of his original surveys have survived and are in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress.

[2] Estate of Lord Fairfax.

[3] Philip Bush's inn was called 'The Golden Buck.'

[4] Marcus Stephenson, a half-brother to Captain William Crawford. (*Toner.*)

[5] James Nourse and his brother, of Frederick County. (*Toner.*)

10. Dined at Mr. Nurses, and returnd to my Brother's in the Evening.

11. Set of from my Brother's for Mr. Warnr. Washington's on my return home.

12. Left Mr. Washington's and crossing at Snicker's (where I eat an early Dinner), reach'd Leesburg betwn. 4 and 5 Oclock in the afternoon.[1]

13. Reachd home, after being obligd to Ferry over goose Creek at Hough's Mill and coming Round by Ellzey's.[2] Found Doctr. Craik here.

14. Rid to my Mill and came home by Posey's. Captn. Adam dined here.

15. Surveyed the Plantation at Posey's and came home to Dinner Plotting the Courses afterwards.

16. Rid by Posey's to the Mill in the forenoon — at home afterwards.

17. At home all day — alone — till the Evening, when Doctr. Rumney came here.

[1] March 12. 'By Exps. at Peytons 7/10½ Ferry 1/3.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] March 13. 'By Ditto at Talbot's 3/.' (*Ledger A.*) Goose Creek flows in a northeasterly direction through Loudoun County, to empty into the Potomac River. John Hough had a mill on Goose Creek. Thomison Ellzey, of Fairfax County. In 1771 the route from the Valley, via Snicker's Gap, to Leesburg (which later was adopted for a turnpike), was just coming into general use by the flour-wagon trains in preference to the older route via Vestal's Gap. On this occasion, however, a 'fresh' in Goose Creek diverted Washington south of Leesburg from his familiar and oft-traversed direct route to Alexandria via Coleman's Ordinary, to cross Goose Creek higher upstream at Hough's Mill: thence he struck into the Ox Road, which Robert Carter had opened in 1730 to serve his Frying Pan copper mine, and followed it to its junction in the branches of Pope's Head Run with what is now called the 'Braddock Road'; thence he followed the 'Braddock Road' via Lewis Ellzey's and Payne's Church to Alexandria.

18. Rid to Posey's to lay of a fence before Breakfast and went to Court afterwards and stayd all Night.[1]

19. At Court all day. In the Afternoon came home, and found Majr. Jenefir,[2] Mr. Boucher, and Jacky Custis here.

20. At home all day (except before Breakfast when I rid to the Mill) with the above Company.

21. Went with the above to Belvoir to Dinner and returnd in the Evening with Mr. Boucher and Jacky Custis.

22. At home all day.

23. Mr. Boucher went away after Breakfast. I rid to the Mill by Muddy hole and Doeg Run. Majr. Jenefir, Mr. Saml. Galloway [3] and Mr. Tho. Ringold [4] dined and lodgd here, as did Mr. B. Fairfax.

24. At home all day. Mr. Jenefir and Mr. Ringold went away after Breakfast, and Mr. Fairfax after Dinner. Mr. Robt. Adam and Mr. M. Campbell [5] dined here.

25. Mr. Gallaway went away after Breakfast. I rid to my Mill and Dam both in the fore and afternoon.

26. Rid to my Mill and Mill dam at the head of the Race

[1] Washington's expense account does not show where he lodged in Alexandria; his house was finished and the absence of a lodging expense indicates that he occupied his own dwelling. While in Alexandria this time he purchased a watch from Thomas Lawson for £7.10.

[2] Daniel, of Saint Thomas, Jenifer, of Maryland.

[3] Samuel Galloway, of Maryland, brother of Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania. Like his brother, he was a lukewarm patriot at the commencement of the Revolution and, later, became an out-and-out tory.

[4] Of Kent County, Maryland.

[5] Matthew Campbell.

in the forenoon (after going a hunting in the Morning). In the afternoon Rid to Posey's.

27. Dined at Colchester in my way to Dumfries on the Arbitration between Doctr. Ross and Compa. and Mr. Semple. Supped at Graham's and lodgd at Mr. Montgomere's.

28. Upon the Arbitration all day, with Colo. Mason, Mr. Mundell and Mr. Ross.

29. Upon the Arbitration with the above Gentlemen as above.

30. Ditto —— Ditto —— Ditto

31. Ditto —— Ditto —— Ditto

MARCH

Remarks and Occurs.

20*th.* Began to Manufacture my Wheat with the Water of Piney Branch which being insufficient to keep the Mill constantly at Work, and Country Custom coming in, no great progress coud be made.

APRIL

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Still at Dumfries, upon the Arbitration between Doctr. Ross and Compa. and Mr. Semple, which was finished about 9 Oclock this Night.

2. Got home to breakfast about 9 Oclock. Mr. Robt. Adam dined and lodgd Here. In the Afternoon, I rid to the Mill Race, Mill, and Posey's.

3. At home all day. Lord Fairfax, the two Colo. Fairfax's, and Mr. Chas. Alexander dined here and went away afterwards.

4. Lowering, with the Wind very high from the Eastward wch. contd. all Night. Rid to my Mill, the Mill Dam, and fishing Landing in the forenoon, and the two first again in the afternoon. Mr. Aadan[1] lodgd here.

5. Rid to the Mill Dam and contd. there all day. Returnd home by the Mill.

6. Rid to the Mill, the Mill Dam, and Fishing Landing before Dinner. Doctr. Rumney dind here.

7. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney dined here and went away afterwds.

8. Rid to my Mill Race and Mill before Dinner. Mr. Carson dined here.

9. Rid to the fishing Landing before Dinner. In the afternoon Doctr. Craik came here, and stayd all night.

10. Doctr. Craik went away in the Morning. I rid to the fishing Landing at Posey's. Mr. Magowan came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

11. Rid by Muddy hole to Doeg Run and from thence to the Mill. Mr. Magowan went this afternn. to Colchester.

12. Rid into the Neck and returnd home by Muddy hole and Posey's.

[1] This may be Aadam (the pen running off the edge of the page), intended for Adam, or Hadan, intended for Hayden. The supposition is that it was Robert Adam, of Alexandria.

13. Rid to the Mill and to Posey's in the forenoon; at home afterwards.

14. Went to Pohick Church and came home to Dinner, Mr. Magowan with us. Found Mr. Adam, Mr. Matthew Campbell, and Captns. Conway[1] and Adam, who Dined and went away afterwds.

15. Went to Alexandria to Court. Stayd all Night. Mr. Magowan wt. [with me?]

16. Came home to Dinner. Mr. Magowan and Mr. Pierce Baily came with me. The latter went away afterwds.

17. Rid to the Mill and fishing Landing, at Posey's in the forenoon. Majr. Wagener dined here and went away aftwd.

18. At home all day.

19. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, the Mill, and Posey's in the forenoon. Mr. Campbell dined here with Mr. Magowan.

20. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill, and came home by Posey's to Dinner. Mr. Magowan went away after Breakfast and Mr. Campbell dind here.

21. At home all day. Mrs. Fairfax din'd here and went away in the Afternoon.

22. Rid by Muddy hole, and Doeg Run to the Mill; from thence to the fishing Landing at Posey's and home to Dinner.

[1] Richard Conway, of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

23. Rid to the Fishing Landing at Posey's and home to Dinner.

24. Rid with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis to the Fishg. Landing at Posey's, and from thence I rid to the Mill and home to Dinner. Mr. Campbell dined here. Mr. Robt. Alexander came in the Evening.

25. Mr. Alexander and I rid to my Mill, and then to the Fishg. Landing at Posey's and came home to dinner, after wch. he went away.

26. At home in the forenoon. In the afternoon Rid by Muddy hole to Doeg Run, from thence to the Mill, and so home by the fishing Landing at Posey's.

27. Set out with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis on my journey to Williamsburg.[1] Dined at Colchester and Suppd and lodgd in Dumfries.

28. Dined at my Mother's and lodgd at Colo. Lewis's. Supped at my Brother Charles's.

29. Dined at Caroline Court House and lodgd at Hubbard's Ordinary.

30. Breakfasted at Todd's Ordinary, and after making

[1] The Burgesses were not in session this month, and Washington undertook this journey to obtain medical treatment for Patsy Custis. He transacted considerable personal business in Williamsburg on the trip, as shown by his accounts; but as none of it was of a pressing nature Miss Custis' health seems to have been the main reason for the journey. This is measurably proved by the entries in the expense accounts. May 7. 'By Mr. Jno. Carter for 4 bottles of Fit Drops £1.5.0.' Mr. John Carter was a well-known physician in Williamsburg. Two days later Washington purchased drugs from 'Doctr Carter' to the amount of 8*s.* 1*d.* On May 11th four ounces of 'æther were purchased' and on the same day Mrs. Charlton was paid £9.8.3 for Miss Custis and 5*s.* 9*d.* for Mrs. Washington. While in Williamsburg at this time the Washingtons stopped at Mrs. Campbell's.

some considerable stop at Ruffin's Ferry, occasioned by a Sick Horse,[1] reached Colo. Bassett's a little in the Night.

APRIL

Remarks and Occs.

5th. Turn'd the Water of Doeg Run into my Mill Race, which seemed to afford Water enough for both Mills, one of which is constantly employd in Grinding up my own Wheat.

10. Began to Haul the Sein, tho few fish were catchd, and those of the Shad kind, owing to the coolness of the Weather. Many Shad had been catchd on the Maryland shore.

11. Obligd to send a hand to the Mill to assist in Packing, etca.

17. Began to Plant Corn at my Mill Plantation.[2]

20. Began to Plant Ditto at Muddy hole.

25. Began Ditto at Doeg Run.

25. The Herring began to run in large Shoals, but were checkd again by the cool weather.

MAY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At Colo. Bassett's all day.

2. Set out with Colo. Bassett for Williamsburg, and

[1] 'By Do [Expenses] at Ruffins 10/3.' (*Ledger A.*)
[2] Another name for a part of the Dogue Run farm.

reachd Town about 12 Oclock. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and went to the Play.[1]

3. Dined at the Speaker's and went to the Play;[2] after wch. Drank a Bowl or two of Punch at Mrs. Campbell's.

4. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's (and paid for Dinner and Club), and went up to Eltham with Colos. Bassett and Lewis.

5. At Eltham all day.

6. Returnd to Williamsburg by 11 Oclock with Colo. Bassett and Colo. Lewis. Dined at Mrs. Vobes;[3] and Suppd at Anderson's.

7. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and Spent the Evening at Anderson's.

8. Dined at Southall's with Colo. Robt. Fairfax and some other Gentlemn., and went to the Play and[4]

9. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's, and Spent the Evening at Southall's with the Treasurer, &ca.

10. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and went to Bed early.

11. Returnd to Eltham with Colo. Bassett after dining at Mrs. Campbell's.

[1] 'By Play Tickets 10/.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] There is no charge in the accounts for tickets for this attendance at the play. Probably the Speaker was the host of the occasion.

[3] Mrs. Jane Vobe.

[4] The connective is merely a continuance to the next day's entry, May 9, and is an evidence that the diaries were written up from rough notes. Washington probably was host to the gentlemen at the play, as the expense for tickets is entered as 37*s.* 6*d.*

12. At Eltham all day except Ridg. to Colo. Bassett's Meadow at Root's with him.

13. Rid to the Brick House with Colo. Bassett and returnd to Dinner.

14. Went into the Fields with Colo. Bassett a shooting. Killd sevl. Hares, and

15. Went up to the Plantations about Rockahock.[1] Dined at Mrs. Chamberlayne's [2] with Mrs. Washington, and returnd to Colo. Bassett's in the Eveng.

16. Dined at Mrs. Dangerfield's with Colo. Bassett's Family, and returnd in the afternoon to Eltham.[3]

17. Visited my Plantation in King William. Dined at Colo. Bd. Moore's [4] and returnd to Colo. Bassett's in the afternoon.

18. Rid to the Brick House with the Family. Hauld the Sein and returnd to Dinner, after which went to Mr. Davis's and Drank Tea.

19. Went to Church [5] and returnd to Colo. Bassett's to Dinner with other Compy., among whom were the two Mr. Dandridge's.[6]

[1] Rockahock on the Pamunky River. Washington bought a farm near it for John Parke Custis.

[2] Mrs. William Chamberlayne, Williams' Ferry on the Pamunky. According to tradition it was at Colonel William Chamberlayne's house that Washington first met Mrs. Martha Custis, the widow of Daniel Parke Custis. Colonel Chamberlayne was related to Mrs. Custis and it was he who introduced Washington to his future wife.

[3] On this day Washington traded horses with Colonel Bassett. Ledger A puts it: 'By Colo. Bassett in Exchange of Horses £23.'

[4] Bernard Moore.

[5] Saint Peter's Episcopal Church, New Kent County.

[6] Probably Bartholomew and William Dandridge, nephews of Mrs. Martha Washington.

20. Rid to the Brick House to see my Chariot and Horses (which were sent round to my Quarter) cross.[1]

21. Set out for my Brother's at Nomony, crossing over to my Quarter, and so by Frazer's to Hob's hole, where we dined, and then crossing the River lodgd at Mr. Josh. Lane's.[2]

22. Reached my Brother's pretty early in the day.

23. Rid with him to his Mill, and to Mr. Carter's[3] New Mills at the head of Nomony. Returnd to Dinr.

24. Dined at Mr. John Smith's at Cabin Point. Returnd to my Brothr's. in the afternoon.

25. Dined at the Revd. Mr. Smith's and returnd to my Brother's again in the Evening.

26. Dined at Mr. Booth's and proceeded to Mrs. Washington's[4] of Pope's Creek in the Afternoon.

27. Stayd there all day.

28. Set out after Breakfast. Dined at Mr. Burdett Ashton's[5] and continued on afterwards to Mr. Lawrence Washington's

[1] Washington had purchased a pair of grays from Colonel Byrd, while in Williamsburg, paying £130 for them and giving Lord Botetourt's coachman 'for ye character of ye Horses' five shillings. The grays had belonged to Lord Botetourt, who died in 1770.

[2] Joseph Lane, of Richmond County.

[3] Robert Carter, of Nomini.

[4] Ann (Aylett) Washington, widow of Augustine Washington, of Westmoreland, half-brother of George.

[5] Burdett Ashton married a daughter of Ann (Aylett) Washington as above. (*Toner.*)

29. Stayd at Mr. Washington's all day — good deal of Company dining there.

30. Reachd home, crossing at Boyd's hole to the Widow Martin's [sic] Landing and pass by Nangemoy Church and the Widow Elbeck's[1] to my own Ferry. Found Jacky Custis there.

31. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and the Mill before Dinner. In the afternoon Vale. Crawford came here and went away again in the Morning.

JUNE

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid into the Neck and to the Mill before Dinner. In the afternoon a Mr. Debutts of Maryland came and stayd all Night.

2. After Breakfast Mr. Debutts went away, and in the Afternoon Mr. Wagener, the younger, came here and stayed all Night.

3. Mr. Wagener went away after Breakfast. I rid to the Mill and Plantation at Posey's before Dinner.

4. At home all day without Compa.

5. Ditto. Mr. Matthw. Campbell came in the Afternoon and stayed all Night.

6. Mr. Campbell went away after Breakfast, and Jacky Custis returnd to Annapolis. Mrs. Washington, Patcy Custis, and myself Dined at Belvoir.

[1] Widow of William Eilbeck, of Charles County, Maryland. She was the mother of George Mason's first wife. (*Toner.*)

7. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill before Dinner.

8. Rid to the Plantn. at the Ferry — then into the Neck, and so home to Dinner, by Muddy hole.

9. At home all day.

10. Rid to Ferry Plantation, Mill, Doeg Run, and home by Muddy hole to Dinner.

11. At home in the forenoon. In the afternoon rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill and back.

12. At the Mill in the forenoon and afternoon, Inspecting and delivering Flour to Messrs. Robt. Adam & Co.

13. At the same place as yesterday and on the same business till Dinner. Colo. Fairfax and Lady dined here.

14. Clear and Cool. Rid to the Mill and the Plantation at the Ferry. In the afternoon Doctr. Craik came here.

15. Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast. I rid as far as the Ferry with him. Afterwards was at the delivery of Flour at my Fish Ho. Landing.

16. At home all day. My Brother Jno. Came here to Dinner, and Majr. Waggener in the afternoon.

17. At home all day, both the above Gentlemen here — the last of whom sick.

18. Went up to Alexandria and returnd in the Afternoon, Mr. Magowan with me. My Brothr. went in the Morning.

19. Major Wagener went away this Morning. I rid to Muddy hole and Doeg Run Plantations.

20. Rid to the Mill and Ferry Plantations. Mr. Magowan went to Colch'r.

21. Mr. Robt. Adam[1] came here in the morning to Breakfast and went with me to Mr. French's Funeral. Mr. Magowan came home with me to Dinner, where we found Mr. Stedlar.

22. Mr. Magowan returnd to Maryland. I rid to Muddy hole and into the Neck.

23. Went to Pohick Church and returnd home to Dinner.

24. At Home all day — writing.

25. Rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill, from thence to Doeg Run Quartr., and home by Muddy hole.

26. At home all day writing.

27. At home all day writing. Miss Nancy McCarty came in the afternoon.

28. Rid by the Ferry Plantation and Mill to Doeg Run Quarter and Meadow. Returnd home by Muddy hole Plantn.

29. Rid to Ferry Quarter, Mill, and Muddy hole.

[1] On this day Robert Adam paid Washington £300 for flour. The agreement (see 'Remarks and Occurs.,' June 6th) was for £300 to be paid in October and the rest in April with interest from October. This June payment apparently superseded this arrangement, and in October and November Adam paid the remainder of his flour purchase, *i.e.*, £201.0.6.

30. At Home all day. Miss Nancy Peake, etca., dined here, as did Price Posey, and went away in the Afternoon, as Miss Nancy McCarty also did.

JUNE

Remarks and Occurs.

1*st*. Morris at Doeg Run Quarter Planted his Swamps with Corn.

Ditto. Finished breaking up Corn Ground at Muddy hole.

Ditto. Only half done at the Neck, but quite finishd at Doeg Run.

6. Sold all the Flour I have left to Robt. Adam & Co. at the following Rates: fine flour at 12/6, Midlings at 10/6, and ship stuff at 8/4 pr. Cwt., £300 of the money to be paid in Octr., the residue in April with Intt. from Octr.[1]

7. Agreed with Mr. Pendleton[2] of Frederick for all the Land to be Included by a Line to be run from the No. West Cr. of Owen Thomas's Patent[3] to a Corner of the Land on which James McCarmick lives in my Line, supposed to contain abt. 180 Acres, for £400, the Money to be paid in two years with Intt. from the 25th of next Decr.; this year's Rent to be paid to me, and only a special Warrantee to be given with the Land.

Got done breaking up my Corn Ground at the Mill.

[1] See note under June 21st, *ante*.

[2] Philip Pendleton (1752–1801), attorney of Berkeley, and afterwards of Frederick County. Married Agnes Peterson in 1772. He attended to some of Washington's legal business. (*Toner*.)

[3] This land in Berkeley County was a part of Washington's Bullskin Plantation, which he sold to Pendleton.

9. The Appearance of the Weather, for sevl. days past has given the greatest room to apprehend the Rust — the Mornings close, foggy and calm; the Evenings Cloudy and sometimes Raining, Heavy Dews at Nights, and warm Sultry days.

11. Finished Breaking up Corn Ground at the Ferry Plantation.

15. Finishd Ditto in the Neck.

24. Began to cut grass at Doeg Run Quarter.

25. Discoverd the Rust bad in the Wheat at the Mill, My Wheat every where being much Injurd by the Speck or Spot.

27. Finishd Plowing over my Corn at Muddy hole a 2d. time and got all over it with the Hoes at the same time.

28. Finishd Securing my Hay at Doeg Run.
Also got over all but the last Cut of Corn in the Neck with the Plows and Hoes.

29. Got over all my Corn at Doeg Run twice with the Hoes and Plows.

JULY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Rid into the Neck to my Harvest People, and back to Dinner. Mr. Robt. Rutherford came in the afternoon and went away again.

2. Rid to the Harvest Field in the Neck and back to Dinner.

3. Rid to the Harvest Field in the Neck by the Ferry and Muddy hole Plantations. In the Afternoon Mr. Jno. Smith of Westmoreland came here.

4. At home all day with Mr. Smith. In the afternoon Jno. Custis came.

5. Mr. Smith set out after breakfast on his journey to Frederick Sprgs. In the afternoon I rid to the Harvest Field in the Neck.

6. Writing the fore part of the day; in the afternoon Rid to the Harvest Field at Muddy hole.

7. At Home all day. Mr. Alexr. Ross of Pittsburg and Mr. George Digges dind here, and went away in the afternoon.

8. Went to a Vestry held at the New Church at Pohick. Doctr. Rumney and Mr. Robt. Harrison came home with me.

9. Doctr. Rumney and Mr. Harrison went away after Breakfast. In the Afternoon I rid to my Harvest People.

10. Mr. Jno. Custis returnd to Annapolis. I remaind at home all day writing my Invoices.

11. Rid by the Plantation at the Ferry and Mill to my Harvest Field at D[ogue] Run. In the aftern. Messrs. Watson [1] and West came.

12. I set of for Williamsburg [2] and crossing at Laidler's lodgd at Mr. Lawe. Washington's

[1] Josiah Watson, of Alexandria.

[2] In July, 1771, Washington attended the session of the Burgesses eight days,

13. Dined at Leeds Town and reachd Todd's Bridge.

14. Breakfasted at King Wm. Ct. Ho. Dined at Ruffin's and reachd Colo. Bassett's.

15. Came to Williamsburg abt. 10 Oclock. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

16. Dined at the Speaker's. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

17. Dined at the Treasurer's. Supd. at Mrs. Campbell's.

18. Dined and Supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

19. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening at Southall's.

20. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

21. Set out early in the Morning for Colo. Bassett's and arrivd there abt. 10 Oclock.

22. Left Colo. Bassett's before Sun rise. Breakfasted at King Wm. Ct. House, dined at Todd's bridge and lodged at Hubbard's.

23. Breakfasted at the Caroline Court House and Reachd Fredericksburg before two Oclock, and dined and lodgd at Colo. Lewis's.

with the usual ten days' traveling it took to go from Mount Vernon to Williamsburg and return. The expense charge for this attendance and travel was paid in May, 1772, when the charges for attendance and travel to the session in March and April of that year were met.

24. At Fredericksburg all day, dined and Supped at Mr. Dick's.

25. Dined at Colo. Lewis's and went to the Play.

26. Breakfasted at my Mother's. Dined at Dumfries, and lodgd at Home.

27. At Home all day.

28. Ditto Ditto

29. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole, and returnd to Dinner.

30. Rid into the Neck, and to the Carpenters; also to the Mill Plantation.

31. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

JULY

Remarks & Occurs.

1. Began my Wheat Harvest in the Neck. Work'd Ten Cradles, 8 of which were my own Negroes. Cut down the 50 Acre Cut upon Carney's Gut next the House.

5. Finishd the Wheat in the Neck abt. two Hours by Sun in the afternoon.

6. Finishd going over my Corn in the Neck the 2d. Time. Also began my Harvest at Muddy Hole this day.

9. Finish'd Cutting and Securing my Wheat at Muddy

hole abt. 4 Oclock in the Afternoon, and Removd my People to Doeg Run.

12. Left home for Williamsburg to the Assembly.

18. Finish'd Cutting and Securg. all my Wheat.

19. Began to Cut the Meadow at the Mill.

27. Finishd curing Do. Weather being very unfavourable.

29. Three Carpenters belonging to the Estate of Colo. Steptoe [1] (hired of Jas. Hardige Lane) at £7 pr. Month) came to work here.

30. Sowed Turneps at Home House.

31. Began to Sow Wheat at Muddy hole Plantation.

AUGUST

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid to Muddy hole, the Mill and where the Carpenter's were at work.

2. At home all day a writing Letters and advertisements of Harry, who run away the 29th ulto.

3. Rid to the Mill, Muddy hole and Neck.

4. Went to Pohick Church, and came home to Dinner.

[1] Colonel William Steptoe. Lane was overseer of the estate. Samuel Washington, of Chotank, brother of George, married, as his fourth wife, Anne, the daughter of Colonel William Steptoe. One of the sons of this marriage was George Steptoe Washington.

5. At home all day. Colo. Fairfax came here to breakfast and returnd afterwards. Doctr. Craik came to Dinner and went away after it.

6. Dined at Belvoir and returnd in the Evening. Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis went with me.

7. Rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill; from thence to Doeg Run and so home by Muddy hole.

8. Rid into the Neck and from thence to the Mill.

9. Went to the Mill and returnd from thence to Dinner.

10. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

11. At home all day. Miss Polly Brazier dined here.

12. Rid to the Mill by the Plantation at the Ferry.

13. Rid to the Mill and returnd home by the Ferry Plantation.

14. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

15. Rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill; from thence into the Neck.

16. Rid by the Plantation at the Ferry to the Mill, and from thence home.

17. Rid by Muddy hole to Doeg Run; from thence to the Mill, and so home by the Ferry Plantn.

18. At home all day alone.

19. Went up to Alexandria to Court, and returnd in the Evening, home.

20. Went up to Court again and lodgd in my own House.[1]

21. At Court all day. In the Evening returnd home.

22. Rid by the Ferry Plantation and Mill to Colo. Fairfax's to see Mrs. Fairfax, who was said to be ill.

23. Went up to Court again and returnd home in the afternoon.

24. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and Mill before Dinner.

25. At home all day. Mr. Jno. Smith came here to Dinner on his return from the Springs.

26. Mr. Smith went away. After Breakfast I rid to the Ferry Plantn. Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

27. Rid to the Mill only before Dinner.

28. Rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill. Miss Manley here.

29. Went to the Mill, and returnd from thence. Miss Manley went home after Breakfast, and Mr. Jno. Johnson,[2] who has a nostrum for Fits, came here in the Afternoon.

[1] On Cameron Street, between Pitt and Saint Asaph Streets; it was torn down before the Civil War.

[2] Washington also describes him as Dr. Johnson. November 12, 1771, he paid Dr. Johnson £14 Maryland currency, equal to £11 Virginia, for Miss Custis, whose health was evidently showing signs of giving way under the strain of her malady.

30. Rid to the Mill in the forenoon. Mr. Johnson here all day. In the afternoon Doctr. Rumney came, and stayd all Night.

31. After Breakfast both Mr. Johnson and Doctr. Rumney went away. I. rid to the Mill, and in the afternoon Mr. Lewis Burwell,[1] ye younger, came here.

AUGUST

Remarks & Occurs.

1*st.* Began to Sow Wheat in the Neck with wheat Steep'd in Brine and allum.[2]

3. Began to Sow Wheat at the Mill, also steepd in Brine with allum put thereto. This day began to Sow the Brined wheat at Muddy hole. Before this the Wheat was not steepd in Brine at this place.

Note. The Brine was made by the directions in the Farmer's guide, as the common method practiced by Farmers; but our Wheat was steepd only 24 hours instead of 35 which he recommends.

5. Began to Sow Wheat at Doeg Run, Steepd in Brine.

8. Finishd Sowing the River Side Cut in the Neck; also the Corn ground at the Mill opposite to Mr. Manley's.

10. Finish'd Sowing all the Corn Ground at the Mill and began to prepare the Fallowd Land there for Sowing. Also Raised a House at the Mill for the Miller to live in.

[1] Toner thinks him the son of Colonel Lewis Burwell, of James City.

[2] This experiment may have been tried to ward off the rust which gave Washington so much trouble in his 1771 crop.

13. Began to Sow Wheat at the Ferry Plantation in the Corner next the Ferry Road by the Pine Tree.

17. Finish's Sowing Wheat in that Cut next the Gum-spring at Muddy hole. Bushels. Also the Second Cut in the Neck that next the Crab tree Branch.

20. Con McCarty [1] began to work on the Chimney of the Miller's Ho. in the Morning, and Bond abt. 12 Oclock.

22. Finishd Sowing the Cut of Wheat at the Ferry in which they began.

The Ground now exceeding dry, Corn firing very badly, and every discouraging appearance of a scarcity of this Article that can be.

31. Finish'd Sowing the third Cut of Wheat in the Neck.

SEPTEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day. Mr. Lewis Burwell here.

2. Went up to Alexandria with Mr. Burwell after an early Dinner. Returnd in the Evening with Mr. Piper.

3. Rid in the Forenoon to the Mill — Mr. Burwell and Mr. Piper both here.

4. Mr. Burwell and Mr. Piper both went away after Breakfast. I rid to the Mill.

5. Rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill; from thence

[1] McCarty worked 36½ days on Washington's mill and was paid £9.2.6.

to Muddy hole and so home to Dinner. In the afternoon rid to the Mill again.

6. At home all the forenoon. In the afternoon went to Belvoir with Mrs. Washington and P. Custis, and returned in the Evening

7. Rid into the Neck in the Morning early and from thence to the Mill. Mr. Crawford came here in ye Aftern.

8. At home all day. Mr. Crawford went away after breakfast.

9. Rid to the Mill; from thence to Doeg Run Qr. and by the River Plantation home.

10. Rid to the Mill in the Forenoon. Mr. Thoms. Triplet dind with me. In the afternoon set of for Fredericksburg [1] and lodgd at Colo. Harry Lee's.

11. Reach'd my Mother's to Dinner after Baiting at Peyton's.

12. Rid all over the Plantn. at the Ho[me] House, and then went to the Quarter and rid all over that and returnd to Dinner. Colo. Lewis and my Brothr. Charles being there. In the afternoon went over to Fredg.

13. Returnd to my Mother's to Breakfast, and Surveyd the Fields before Dinner. Returnd to Town afterwards.

[1] This visit seemed to have been made in response to a call and was undertaken for the purpose of making arrangements for the management of Mrs. Mary Washington's farms. (See entry under 'Remarks & Occs.' September 12th and 13th.)

14. Rid with Colo. Lewis to his Mill before Dinner; after it went over to my Mother's and stayd all Night.

15. Set of home. Din'd in Dumfries and got up by Sunset.

16. Rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill. Lund Washington returnd from Dr. Craik's this Eveng.

17. Rid to the Mill; from thence to Doeg Run and Muddy hole before Dinner. After Dinner Rid into the Neck.

18. Went up to Court. Dined at Arrell's [1] and lodgd at Mr. Jno. West's.

19. Went to Court again. Dind at Arrell's and came home in the Afternoon. Found young Wormely [2] here.

20. Went with Mr. Wormeley to Belvoir on a Morng's. visit, and returnd to Dinr.

21. Set out with Mr. Wormeley for the Annapolis Races. Dind at Mr. Willm. Digge's and lodgd at Mr. Ignatis. Digges.

22. Dined at Mr. Sam Gallaway's and lodged with Mr. Boucher in Annapolis.

23. Dined with Mr. Loyd Dulany [3] and spent the Evening at the Coffee Ho.[4]

[1] David Arrel, or Arell, innkeeper in Alexandria.

[2] This must have been John Wormeley, youngest son of the 'Colonel Wormeley' (1715–90), of Rosegill, who appears earlier in the diary. Like all his family, John was a loyalist and served in the British army as a captain in Colonel John Graves Simcoe's Queen's Rangers. In 1783 he was restored to his Virginia citizenship by act of Assembly. (Hening, xi, 316.)

[3] Lloyd Dulaney, attorney at Annapolis. Was a loyalist in the Revolutionary War and removed to England.

[4] 'By John Parke Custis at ye Annapolis Races £8.' (*Ledger A.*)

24. Dined with the Govr.[1] and went to the Play and Ball afterwards.[2]

25. Dined at Doctr. Steward's [3] and went to the Play and Ball afterwards.

26. Dined at Mr. Ridout's [4] and went to the Play after it.

27. Dined at Mr. Carroll's and went to the Ball.

28. Dined at Mr. Boucher's and went from thence to the Play and afterwards to the Coffee Ho.

29. Dined with Majr. Jenifer and Suppd at Danl. Dulany,[5] Esqrs.

30. Left Annapolis, and Dind and Suppd with Mr. Saml. Gallaway.

SEPT[EMBE]R

Remarks & Occs.

4. The Mason's began to work on the Mill Walls.

4. Finish'd Sowing the Cut of Corn round the Creek at the Ferry Plantn.

[1] Robert Eden.

[2] 'By Play Tickets at Do £3. By Ball . . . Ditto. . . . Do. 18*s*.' (*Ledger A.*) The races were the event of the social season at Annapolis. The Jockey Club had been formed in 1750; the track, a circuit of about one mile, was near the present Baltimore and Washington Railroad Station. The day's sport usually ended with the theater or a ball. The theater Washington attended on this trip was a new one that had opened in February, 1769, on West Street. It is not now standing.

[3] Dr. David Stuart, of Fairfax County. He, later, married the widow of John Parke Custis (Eleanor Calvert). Dr. Stuart was one of the three first Commissioners of the District of Columbia. Washington was much attached to him and remembered him in his will.

[4] John Ridout (1732–53), attorney, of Annapolis, Maryland.

[5] Daniel Dulany (1721–97), attorney, of Annapolis. Held various State

10. Began to Plaister the Miller's House.

12. Agreed with one William Powell to look after my Mother's Quarter on Rappahannock, on the following Terms; to wit: to continue the five hands now on the Plantation, and either to add one more horse to those which are there (amounting to four), or put two good ones there, and take away two of the most indifferent; to allow him 365 lbs of Porke, the Milk of a Cow, and the Seventh part of all the Corn, Tobo., and Wheat he can make. In consideration of which he is to stay constantly on the Plantn. with his People, furnish himself with bed and other necessaries, and to keep no Horse or other Creature on the Plantation.

13. Agreed with Edwd. Jones to Continue Overseer at the place my Mother lives at, who is also to be constant in his attendance on the People he looks after (five in number), for which he is to be allowd the Seventh of Corn, Wheat, and Tobo. He also is to have two Horses added to those two he already has.

OCTOBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

[1.] Dined at Upper Marlborough [1] and reach'd home in the Afternoon. Mr. Wormley, Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. Randolph,[2] Mr. Burwell, and Jack Custis came with me. Found Mr. Pendleton here.

2. Mr. Pendleton went away after Breakfast; the other Gentlemen Stayd all day.

offices in Maryland prior to the Revolutionary War and was never entirely in accord with the Colonies, while he did not, at the same time, approve Great Britain's course.

[1] County seat of Prince George County, Maryland.

[2] John Randolph, Attorney-General of Virginia.

3. The Gentlemen went away after Breakfast and I rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill. Doctr. Rumney dind and lodgd here.

4. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole. Captn. Oliffe dind here, and Mr. Robt. Rutherford Sup'd.

5. Went a hunting with Jacky Custis but found nothing. Came home by the mill. Mr. Rutherford went away after breakfast, and Captn. Oliffe dind here.

6. At home all day. Captn. McCarty and wife, Mr. Piper, Captn. Oliffe and Polly Brazier, dind here. The 3 first went away after Dinner.

7. Rid by the Ferry Plantation to the Mill. Captn. Oliffe and Polly Brazier here.

8. Went a hunting in the Neck and Catchd a Dog fox; then went to the Plantn. there and came home to Dinr.

9. At home in the afternoon, Rid to the Mill in the forenoon.

10. At home all day. Captn. Crawford came here in the Afternoon.

11. Still at home all day Plotting and Measuring the Surveys [1] which Captn. Crawford made for the Officers and Soldiers.

12. At home on the same business. Doctr. Craik came in ye Afternoon.

[1] As before stated, a number of these original surveys, in Crawford's handwriting and signed by him, are in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress. Some of them have the plots drawn thereon by Washington.

13. About the same business. Mr. John West came to Dinner.

14. Ditto. Ditto. Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast and Mrs. Barnes came. Mr. Manley dind here and Val Crawford came sick at Night.

15. At home about this Work. Doctr. Rumney came in the Afternoon.

16. Ditto. Ditto. Mr. West and Doctr. Rumney went away after Dinner.

17. Rid to the Ferry Plantn. and Mill after Breakfast. Captn. Crawford went to Doctr. Craik's after Dinner.

18. Went into the Neck and Ran some Lines there. Captn. Crawford came in the afternoon.

19. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

20. At home all day. Mr. James Adam [1] dined here.

21. Rid to the Mill. Mr. Ross dind here.

22. Rid to the Mill again. Captn. Crawford [2] and his Brothr. Returned home. Mr. Jno. Smith of Westmoreld. came in the Aftern.

23. After dinner set of for Williamsburg [3] and lodgd at Mr. Lawson's. Left Mr. Smith and Mrs. Barnes at Mt. Vn.

[1] Son of Robert Adam, of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

[2] 'By Captn. Crawford on Acct. of ye Offrs. & Soldrs. £41.14.4 By Ditto on my own Acct. 5 half Joes £11.10.0.' (*Ledger A.*)

[3] Mrs. Washington and Patsy Custis accompanied him.

24. Reach'd my Mother's to dinner, and lodgd afterwards at Colo. Lewis's

25. At my Mother's all day having lost my Horses. Spent ye Eveng. at Weedon's.

26. At Colo. Lewis's all day. Mr. Wormely and others dining there.

27. Continued on to Williamsburg having found my Horses.[1] Dined at Caroline Ct. House and lodgd at Hubbard's.

28. Breakfasted at Todd's bridge, dind at Ruffin's, and lodgd at Colo. Bassett's.

29. Reach'd Williamsburg before Dinner,[2] and went to the Play in the Afternoon.

30. Dined at the Speaker's, and went to the Play in the Afternoon.

31. Dined at the Governor's,[3] and went to the Play.[4]

[1] Washington's expenses here note that he gave to George and Charles Lewis, the sons of Colonel Lewis, £1.6.0, but does not state for what; the inference seems plain, the boys found his strayed horses.

[2] Washington made this journey to Williamsburg for business reasons, the principal one being to have recorded, at the earliest possible moment, the land he claimed under the Dinwiddie Proclamation of 1754, for his French and Indian War services. As soon as he had established the location of this land from Captain Crawford's surveys, he took immediate steps to secure the title. The following entry in Ledger A seems to confirm this: 'By Colo. Theo. Bland Recording a Deed 15 *s.*'

[3] John Murray, Earl Dunmore, arrived in Virginia a short time prior to October 12, 1771.

[4] 'By Sundry Play Tickets whilst in Wmsburg £4.1.0.' (*Ledger A.*)

NOVEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Dined at Mrs. Dawson's. Went to the Fireworks in the Afternoon and to the Play at Night.

2. Dined with the Council, and Spent the Evening in my own Room a writing.

3. Dined at Anderson's and Supped at Mrs. Dawson's.

4. Dined with the Council and went to the play afterwards.

5. Dined at the Treasurer's and Spent the Evening in my own Room.

6. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and Spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

7. Left Williamsburg on my Return home, dined and lodged at Colo. Bassett's.[1]

8. At Colo. Bassett's all day. Colo. Lewis and Mr. Mercer came here.

9. Set out in Company with those Gentlemen. Dined at Todd's bridge and lodgd at Hubbard's.

10. Dined at Doctr. Todd's [2] and reachd Fredericksburg at Night.

[1] The expense account shows an item of £1.13.9 for board at Mr. (or Dr.) John Carter's, and Mrs. Bassett was paid for Mrs. Washington and Miss Custis £11.11.9 on November 7th.

[2] Of Bowling Green?

11. Got home about Dark, and found Mr. Warner Washington, his wife and Child, Mrs. Bushrod and Katy, and Nancy Washington, Sally and Nancy Carlyle, and Sally Fairfax,[1] and Polly Brazier here.

12. At home all day — with the above.[2]

13. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

14. Rid to the Mill with the Ladies and back again. Mr. Lawson came in the Afternoon.

15. Rid to the Ferry Plantation; after breakfast Mr. Warnr. Washington, his wife and Child, and the two Miss Carlyles, Polly Brazier, and Mr. Lawson went away.

16. Went a hunting, but found nothing.

17. Went to Dinner at Belvoir with Mrs. Bushrod, Mrs. Washington, the two Miss Washington's and Patcy Custis. Returnd in the Afternn.

18. Went up to Court.[3] Dined at Arrell's and lodged at Mr. John West's. Sent my Horses home.

19. Dined at Arrell's and lodgd at my own House. Supped at Arrell's also.

20. Dined at Arrell's. Came home in the Afternoon, Mr. Magowan with me. Found Mr. Washington, his Wife, &ca., here, as also John Custis.

[1] Daughter of Bryan Fairfax. (*Toner.*)

[2] Patsy Custis' health continued to be a source of anxiety. On this date, November 12th, Dr. John Johnson was paid £14, Maryland currency, for Miss Custis.

[3] This visit to Alexandria was to arrange for the election in December. (See entry under December 4th, *post.*)

21. At home all day. Mr. Danl. Jenifer dined and lodgd here.

22. At home again. Mr. Jenifer went away after breakfast, as Mr. Washington, &ca., did yesterday.

23. At home all day. Mr. Magowan went away before Dinner. Mr. Campbell came to Dinnr. and Doctr. Craik in the Afternoon.

24. Doctr. Craik and Mr. Campbell both went away after breakfast.

25. Went a hunting in the Morning with Jacky Custis. Returnd about 12 oclock and found Colo. Fairfax and Lady here, Mrs. Fanny Ballendine and her nieces, Miss Sally Fairfax, and Mr. R. Adam, Mr. Jas. Adam and Mr. Anthy. Ramsay, all of whom went away in the Afternoon, when Miss Scott came.

26. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, Mill, and Ferry before dinner.

27. Set off before Sunrise with John Custis for Colo. Mason's, and went a driving in his Neck after breakfast. 2 deer killed.

28. Went a driving again with Colo. Mason. Killed nothing.

29. Went to the Vestry at Pohick Church and reachd home in the Evening. Found Mr. Johnson here.

30. Went a hunting in the Neck with Mr. Peake. Found and killed a Fox. Mr. Johnson still here.

NOV[EMBE]R

Remarks and Occs.

11*th.* Returnd home from Williamsburg. —

20. Began to Plant Cuttings of the Winter Grape in the Inclosure below the Garden.

30. Left of Planting, the ground being two hard froze, having planted [ ] Rows beginning to reckon from the side next to the Spring.

DECEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day. Mr. Johnson still here. Doctr. Rumney came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

2. Rid to the River Plantation and the Mill. Mr. Johnson went away after breakfast, as Did Mr. Rumney.

3. Rid to Muddy hole, and into the Neck. Mr. Val Crawford came this aftern.

4. Went up to the Election and the Ball I had given at Alexa. Mr. Crawford and Jno. P. Custis with me. Stayd all Night.[1]

5. Came home in the Afternoon and found Miss Mason and Miss Scott, who came the day before, here.

[1] The expenses of this election, in which Washington was again successful, are displayed in the accounts as follows:

Dec. '19	By Mr. Arroll Balle. of Acct. to this date	£ 15 12 —
	By Mr. Lomax getting a Supper at My Ball the Night of Election	4. 7. 8
	By Mr. William Shaw providg. Sundries &ca. for ye Election & Ball & his own Trouble	4. 1. 9
	By Mr. Piper's Charles playg. Fiddle	12. —'
1772, May 18.	'By Mrs Young for cakes at ye last Electn.	£ 1. 9. 8.'

6. At home alone all day. In the afternoon Mr. Phil Pendleton came.

7. Went a fox hunting with the above two, etca. Killed a Fox, and dined with Doctr. Alexander.

8. After breakfast Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Crawford went away, as Miss Mason and Miss Scott did yesterday.

9. Went to meet Govr. Eden at Mr. Willm. Digges's, where we dined. In the afternoon the Govr., Mr. Calvert,[1] Majr. Fleming,[2] Mr. Boucher, Mr. Geo. Digges, and Doctr. Digges,[3] came over with me.

10. The above Gentlemen dined here, as did Colo. Fairfax, who went away in the Afternoon.

11. The Govr. and all the Compy. dined at Colo. Fairfax's and returnd in the Afternoon.

12. The foregoing Gentlemen still here.

13. The Governor and other Gentlemen cross'd over to Mr. Digges' on their return home. I dined with them there and came back in the Aftern.

14. Went a fox hunting with John Parke Custis, Lund Washington, and Mr. Manley.[4] Killed a Fox.

15. At home all day alone; in the Evening the same.

[1] Benedict Calvert, of 'Mount Airy,' Prince George County, Maryland; Benedict's daughter Eleanor married John Parke Curtis.

[2] William (?) Fleming.

[3] Dr. Joseph Digges, son of William Digges, of 'Warburton'; he was a brother to George Digges.

[4] Harrison Manley.

16. At home all day. In the Evening Mr. Adams, Mr. Belmain,[1] Mr. Campbell, and Price Posey came here.

17. Mr. Belmain went away after Breakfast — the others after Dinner.

18. Went to Doeg Run and carried the Dogs with me, who found and Run a Deer to the Water.

19. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, Mill, and Muddy hole.

20. Rid into the Neck.

21. Went a hunting in the Neck with Mr. Peake, and Mr. Wm. and Thos. Triplet, the first two of whom dind with me. Found nothing.

22. Raining in the Night and most part of this day, being tolerably warm, with but little wind and that Southerly. At home all day alone.

23. At home all day writing and alone.

24. At home all day and writing as yesterday — alone.

25. Went to Pohick Church with Mrs. Washington and returnd to Dinner.

26. Went a hunting in the Neck early. Killd a Fox and dined with several others at Mr. Peake's.

27. Went a hunting again in the Neck. Found a Fox and lost it. Dined with others at Mr. Thos. Triplet's.

[1] The Reverend Alexander Balmaine, of Scotland. He was minister of Augusta Parish, Virginia, and served as Chaplain in the Revolutionary War. (*Toner.*)

28. Hunted again in the Neck and killed a Fox. Dined at home with the following Persons: the two Mr. Triplets, Mr. Manley, Mr. Peake, young Frans. Adams,[1] and one Stone Street; [2] also Peake's Daughter and Miss Fanny Eldridge.

29. At home all day — the two girls above mentioned here.

30. Went a hunting again with the former Compa., but found nothing. Dined at Mr. Wm. Triplets. Miss Peake, etca., went home.

31. Went up to Alexandria at the request of Messrs. Montgomerie, Wilson and Stewart, to settle with them along with Mr. John [3] (as Exr. of Colo. Thoms. Colvill) for the Maryland Tract of Land which they had Purchasd of Mr. Semple. Staid all Night.[4]

DECEMBER

Remarks & Occurrances.

16. Finishd planting the Grape Cuttings in the Inclosure below the Garden — the first 29 Rows of which, reckoning from the side next the Spring, are the Winter Grape, the other five are the Summer grape of tolerable good taste and Ripening in October.

17. Killed my Porke, and distributed the Overseers their Shares.

18. Agreed to Raise Christophr. Shade's Wages to £20 pr. Ann.

[1] Francis, son of Robert Adam, of Alexandria.
[2] Toner thinks Stonestreet, of Maryland.
[3] Mr. John Semple.
[4] Washington played cards this night and lost £2.11.0, and on this visit to Alexandria he purchased two new packs of cards at a cost of two shillings.

1772

January 1–December 31

Original in Library of Congress

1772

[JANUARY]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Upon the same business this day as brought me to Alexandria yesterday. Came home in the Afternoon and found Mr. Ramsay and his daughter here.

2. At home all day. Mr. Montgomerie, Mr. Piper, and Mr. Harrison came to dinner and staid all Night.

3. Still at home with the above Gentlemen. In the afternoon Mr. and Miss Ramsay returnd to Alexandria and Mr. B. Fairfax came.

4. Went a Hunting with the above Gentlemen. Found both a Bear and Fox but got neither. Went up to Alexandria with these Gentlemen to finish the business with Montgomerie, &ca., which was accordg. done.[1]

5. Returnd home. Mr. Fairfax came with me. A Mr. Willis,[2] and a Rhode Island Captn. dind here. The two latter went away afterwards.

6. Went a Hunting in the Neck with Mr. Fairfax. Found a fox and run him into a hole near Night without Killing him. Found Doctr. Rumney and Mr. Magowan here when we returnd.

[1] 'By my Expens. at Arrells Settling Colo. Colvills Estate Accts. with ye Assignees of J. Semple £1.17.9.' (*Ledger B.*)

[2] Francis Willis, Jr., of Loudoun County, Virginia. (See entry under January 5th in 'Remarks & Occurs.' in January, *post.*)

7. The above Gentlemen continued here all day and Night. Mr. Fairfax and my self rid to my Mill before Dinner.

8. At home all day. Mr. Fairfax and Doctr. Rumney went away after Breakfast.

9. Mr. Magowan left this after breakfast for Colchester. I rid to the Ferry, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole, and found Mrs. French[1] and Daughter here when I returnd.

10. Mrs. French and Daughter went away before Dinner. I went to the Ferry Plantn. to run some lines for my fencing, etca.

11. Went a Hunting in the Neck. Found a fox about One Clock and killed it about 3 Oclock. Mr. Magowan returnd from Colchester to Dinner.

12. At home all day. Mr. Magowan went to Mr. Peake's to Dinner and returnd again at Night.

13. Went again to the Ferry Plantation to run some lines for my Fencing. Mr. Magowan went to Mr. T. Triplet's to Dinner and returnd.

14. Went to Belvoir with Mrs. Washington, Miss Custis, and Mr. [Ma]Gowan dind and stayed all Night.

15. Dined at Belvoir this day also, and returnd with Mr. Magowan In the Evening.

16. Went to Run some Lines between Mr. Barry and me

[1] Mrs. Penelope, wife of Daniel French. She was the daughter of Harrison Manley. (*Toner.*)

at the Mill; also to try some of the Lines of Mr. Jno. West's Land.

17. Went into the Neck to remeasure the Creek field and lay of some Fences. Upon my return to Dinner found one Mr. Hanna[1] here, who stayd all Night.

18. Mr. Hanna went away after Breakfast as Mr. Magowan also did. I went a Hunting and killd a Fox. Was joind by Mr. M. Campbell, Mr. Manley, and Mr. Peake, who dined here and went away aftereds.

19. At home all day. In the Afternoon Majr. Wagener and Mr. John Barnes,[2] with Doctr. Craik, came here.

20. After Breakfast the Majr. went away for Court, and Messrs. Lawe. and Jno. Washington,[3] with Miss Polly Washington, came here.

21. Mr. Barnes and Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast; the other two Gentlemen and myself rid to my Mill and back before Dinr.

22. At home all day with the two Mr. Washingtons.

23. Went up to George Town to convey Deeds to Messrs. Montgomerie, Stewart, and Wilson, for the Maryland Tract of Land, wch. was accordingly done, Mrs. Colvil being carried up in my Chariot. Returnd to Mr. Jno. West's at Night.

24. Went from Mr. West's to Alexanda. and returnd

[1] Francis Hanna, of Prince William County. (*Toner.*)
[2] John Barnes, son of Abraham Barnes, of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)
[3] Of King George County; brother of Lawrence and Lund Washington.

home to Dinner. In the afternoon Mr. John Byrd[1] and Mr. Drew came here.

25. These Gentlemen went away after breakfast. I contd at home all day.

26. At home all day alone — that is with the Family.

27. At home by ourselves, the day being dreadfully bad.

28. Just such a day as the former and at home alone.

29. With much difficulty rid as far as the Mill, the Snow being up to the breast of a Tall Horse everywhere.

30. At home all day it being almost impracticable to get out.

31. Still at home for the Causes above.

JANUARY

Remarks and Occurs.

1 *and* 4. Settling with the Assignees of Mr. John Semple for the Maryland Tract of Land sold him by Colo. Thoms. Colvil,[2] and fixed the Balle. still due on that Land to £2576–15–2½, £1000 of which to be paid upon acknowledgment of Deeds to them at George Town the 23d. Instt., and the Residue in June, 1773. An allowance is to

[1] Related to the Byrds of 'Westover'; married Mollie, a daughter of John Page. (*Toner.*)

[2] Ledger B has the following entry under date of April 30, 1772: 'By Sundries paid on Acct. of Colo. Colvils Este. in order to obtain an Act of the Maryland Assembly, to empower his Exrs. to make Deeds for the Maryland Tract of Land — viz — To Edwd. Tilghman Esqr. Speaker £6.0.0. Md. Cy. Upton Scott Clerk Upr. Ho. £3 — — Jno. Duckett Clk lowr. Ho. £3 — — £12. deduct 25 pr Ct — £3. £9.— —' The Maryland Act is printed in *Maryland Laws*, 1765–74, p. 262.

be made for any money which it shall appear Mr. Semple has credited Mr. Hough for on Col. Colvil's Acct.

5. Told Mr. Willis of Loudoun that he might have my small Tract of Land adjoining Wormeley, Alexander, and other's, for £250 — provided he took it without measuring; but if I run it out, it should be priced at 25/ pr. Acre, let it measure more or less. He also wanted the Plantation Kennedy[1] lives on upon Lease, and would give, if he liked the place upon examining of it, £40 pr. Ann. Rent, if he had the liberty of Working 25 hands thereon. To this I told him I would give no definitive answer as I was under promise of giving the preference to another, but would write him as soon as I coud.

8. Engaged to advance by, or at the April General Court for the use of Mr. Bryan Fairfax £150, or thereabouts, to discharge the Balle of his Bond to Doctr. Savage. Also promised, if I could, to take up a Bill of Excha. of about £160 Sterg. with Intt. thereon at the same time; In consideration of which he has given me a Memm. at the prices there Stipulated in case I like them, or either of them upon examination thereof within Months from this day. If not, he is then to become my Debtor for these two Accts.

8. Received 563½ Bushels of Oats from Arlington.[2]

FEBRUARY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Attempted to ride as far as the Ferry Plantation to wch. there was a Tract broke, but found it so tiresome

[1] David Kennedy, one of Washington's tenants in Frederick County.

[2] This 'Arlington' was a part of the Custis estate in Northampton County, Virginia. Ledger B has an entry for these oats as follows: 'By Freight of Oats &ca. from the Eastn. Shore £10.13.4.'

and disagreeable that I turnd back before I got half way.

2. At home all day.

3. At home all day — alone.

4. At home all day — alone.

5. Went to run a line across from the Ferry Plantation to where my Pasture fence strikes the Creek; also to run and measure the Field I am going to inclose.

6. Went across the Creek upon the Ice and staked off a fence for the Field on the Creek.

7. Attempted to ride to the mill, but the Snow was so deep and crusty, even in the Tract that had been made, that I chose to Tye my Horse half way and walk there.

8. At Home all day.

9. Ditto — Ditto

10. Ditto — Ditto

11. Went out to make some further discovery of the Lines of West, French and Manley, and was much fatigued by the deepness and toughness of the Snow.

12. Attempted to ride out again but found the Roads so disagreeable and unpleasant that I turnd back before I got to the Ferry Quarter.

13. Went to the Ferry Plantation to run some Lines there. Returnd before 12 Oclock.

14. Went out with my Compass agn. and run the Courses of Doegs Creek up to my Mill; also a line or two of the Wades Land.

15. At home all day.

16. Ditto — Ditto

17. Rid to the Mill Plantation to see a Negro Man sick of Pleurisy.

18. Rid to the Mill again on the same business as yesterday.

19. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill before Dinner.

20. At home all day.

21. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and to the Fishing Landing, where a few Fish were catchd in the Sein.

22. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and Muddy hole, and returnd to Dinner. Mr. Ramsay and Captn. Conway Dind and lodgd here.

23. At home. Mr. Ramsay and Captn. Conway stayd all day.

24. These Gentlemen went away. I rid to the Ferry Plantation and returnd to Dinnr.

25. Set of for Williamsburg, but not being able to cross Accatinck (which was much Swelled by the late Rains) I was obliged to return home again.[1]

[1] To attend the session of the Burgesses in March and April. The necessary

26. Sett off again and reachd Colchester by nine Oclock, where I was detaind all day by high Winds and low tide.

27. Crossd early and breakfasted at Dumfries. Got to Fredericksburg in the afternoon and lodgd at Colo. Lewis's.

28. Stayd all day in Town with my Brother John, etca. Dined at Colo. Lewis's and spent the Evening at Captn. Weedon's.

29. Prosecuted my journey.[1] Dined at Caroline Ct. House and lodged at Todd's Bridge.

MARCH

Where & how my time is Spent.

Mar. 1st. Reachd Colo. Bassett's from Todd's Bridge by 12 Oclock. Stay'd there the remainder of the day.

2. Set out for Williamsburg[2] and got in about 12 Oclock. Dined at the Speaker's and sup'd at the Treasurer's.

3. Dined and Sup'd at the Governor's.[3]

4. Dined at the Attorney's and Spent the Evening at the Governor's.

ten days of travel to and from Williamsburg were included in Washington's account against the Colony. Mrs. Washington and Patsy Custis accompanied him. The Burgesses' meeting had been postponed by various prorogations from December 12, 1771, to February 10, 1772, the last postponements being necessitated by the impassable condition of most of the roads.

[1] Although the diary makes no mention of Washington's mother, he nevertheless visited her while in Fredericksburg. His accounts, under his mother's name have the following entry under February 29, 1772. 'To cash paid "you" £5.'

[2] 'By Ferriage at Ruffins 3*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] John Murray, Earl Dunmore.

5. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and Spent the Evening in my own Room.

6. Dined and Spent the Evening at the Treasurer's.

7. Took an early Dinner at Mrs. Dawson's and went up to Colo. Bassett's with him in the afternoon.

8. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

9. Returnd to Williamsburg by 12 Oclock and Dined at the Club at Mrs. Campbell's.

10. Dined and Spent the Evening at the Palace.

11. Dined and Spent the Evening at the Club at Mrs. Campbell's.

12. Dined at the Club and went to the Play.

13. Dined at the Club and Spent the Evening at Southall's.

14. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening there also.

15. Dined at the Speaker's and Spent the Evening at my own lodgings.

16. Dined at the Club, and spent the Evening there also.

17. Dined at the Club and went to the Play in the Afternoon.

18. Dined at the Club and Spent the Evening at the Burgesses' Ball in the Capitol.

19. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and went to the Play in the Evening.

20. Dined at Mrs. Ambler's and Spent the Evening at Southall's.

21. Dined at the Club and Spent the Evening there also.

22. Went over to Colo. Warner Lewis's in Gloucester. Dined and Lodged there.

23. Returnd to Williamsburg[1] before 10 Oclock, and dined at the Club and spent the Evening at the same.

24. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening at Mr. Anderson's.

25. Dined at Mr. Lewis Burwell's and went to the Play.

26. Dined at the Club, and went to the Play.

27. Dined at the Club and Spent the Evening in my own Room.

28. Dined at the Club and Spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

29. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and Spent the Evening at My own Lodgings.

30. Dined and Spent the Eveng. at Mrs. Campbell's.

31. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening there also.

[1] On the way back to Williamsburg Washington stopped in Yorktown. His expenses there, March 23, were 3*s.* 9*d.* (*Ledger B.*)

APRIL

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Dined and Spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

2. Dined and Spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

3. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and went to the Play; then to Mrs. Campbell's again.

4. Took a Cold dinner at Mr. Southall's and came up to Eltham in the afternoon.

5. Went to see Mrs. Dandridge betwn. Breakfast and Dinner.

6. Returnd to Williamsburg; Dined at Mrs. Campbell's. Went to the Concert[1] and then to Mrs. Campbell's again.

7. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and went to the Play; then to Mrs. Campbell's again.

8. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and Spent the Evening at my lodgings.

9. Took an early Dinner at Southall's and set of for Eltham on my return home.[2]

[1] April 6. 'By a Concert Ticket 6*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[2] Among the expense memoranda in Williamsburg at this time are the following interesting entries: 'By Mr. Baker — Surgn. Dentist £4.0.0;' so that Washington's teeth thus early were giving him trouble. 'By Dr. [W.] Pasteurs Acct. against Miss Custis £14.11.0. By Ditto . . . . against self. 8*s*.6*d*.'; and on April 8, 'By Dinners & Clubs thereat, at Mrs. Campbell's during my stay in Willmsburg £7.7.6. By Mrs. Charltons Acct. against Miss Custis 16*s*.3*d*. By Ditto for Mrs. Washington . . 16*s*.0*d*. By Ditto for my board there since the 1st. of March . . £11.0.0.' Mrs. Charlton was the wife of Richard Charlton, who kept an inn at Williamsburg.

Among the acts passed at this session of the Burgesses was one in which Wash-

10. With Colo. Bassett, and Lady, and there 3 daughters; set of for Mount Vernon.[1] Dined at Todd's Bridge and lodged at Hubbard's.

11. Breakfasted at Hubbard's and dined at Colo. Lewis's in Fredericksburg where Colo. Bassett &ca. lodged — I lodged at my Mothers.[2]

12. Dined in Dumfries and Reachd home in the Afternoon, where I found Mrs. Barnes, Miss Carlyle, Miss Alexander, Miss Hunter, Colo. Carlyle and Son, and Daughter Nancy.

13. All the above went away but Mrs. Barnes and Miss Hunter. About 12 Oclock Colo. Bassett and Family arrived.

14. At home all day.

15. Walked to the Fishing Landing at Posey's between breakfast and dinner with Colo. Bassett.

16. At home all day.

17. I rid with Colo. Bassett to my Mill, from thence to Posey's, and home to Dinner.

18. Walkd with Colo. Bassett to the Fishing Landing at

ington was deeply interested. With Thomson Mason, Henry Lee, and others he prepared and brought in a bill for opening and extending the navigation of the Potomac River from Fort Cumberland to tidewater, April 3d. It passed the House April 8th, was agreed to by the Council April 9th, and approved by Governor Dunmore April 11th.

[1] April 10. 'By Ferriage at Ruffins 3*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[2] 'By Cash left with my Mother, to be given to my Bror. Charles to buy Corn for the upper Quarter on Rappn. E. Jones's £8. By ferriages at Hunters 1*s*.6*d*. By Expences at Dumfries 5*s*.4*d*.' (*Ledger B.*)

the Ferry between Breakfast and Dinner. Captn. Posey dined here. J. P. Custis came here.

19. At home all day. Mr. Campbell dined here.

20. Went up to Court,[1] Colo. Bassett and Jno. Custis with me. Returned in the afternoon, Mr. Tilghman[2] and Mr. Hanson[3] with us.

21. Walkd to the Fishery at Posey's between Breakfast and Dinnr. Mrs. Fairfax dined here and returnd in the afternoon.

22. Rid to the Mill and Fishery with the Ladies and Gentlemen. Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Hanson went away.

23. Dined at Belvoir with Colo. Bassett and Lady, and Daughter, Mrs. Washington, and Patcy. Returnd in the Evening. J. P. Custis dind also.

24. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill with Colo. Bassett before Dinner. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Ball who came yesterday went away.

25. Went a hunting with Colo. Bassett; found nothing.

26. Colo. Bassett and Mrs. Bassett, Mrs. Washington and Self, went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinr.

27. At home all day writing to send to Williamsburg by Colo. Bassett.

[1] 'By Club at Arrells *6s.3d.*' (*Ledger B.*)

[2] Matthew Tilghman, of Queen Anne County, Maryland; at one time Governor of the Colony and member of the Continental Congress. He was the uncle of Tench Tilghman, volunteer aide to Washington during the Revolution.

[3] John Hanson (1715–83), of Maryland. Member of the Continental Congress and President of that body in 1781.

28. Colo. Bassett and Family set of home. I rid to the Mill and Fishing Landing at the Ferry.

29. Rid to the Mill and Fishing Landing again. Doctr. Rumney dined here.

30. Went to the Fishing Landing[1] at the Ferry again.

MAY

Where and how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Went a Hunting with Mr. Jno. Custis. Found nothing. Returnd to Dinner.

2. At home all day. Mr. Foxcraft, Mr. Hoops,[2] and Mr. Ramsay, came here to Dinner and stayd all Night.

3. Mr. Foxcraft and Mr. Hoops went away after breakfast, and Mr. Ramsay after dinner. I continued at home all day.

4. Rid to the Mill and Ferry Plantations, and to the Fishery at the Ferry. J. P. Custis returnd to Mr. Boucher's, and Mr. Ballendine came in the afternoon.

5. Mr. Ballendine went away abt. 11 Oclock. At home all day.

[1] Ledger B throws light on these many trips to the fishing landing; the latter part of April and the beginning of May Washington sold over eleven thousand fish, mainly herring.

[2] This was John Foxcroft, of New York, who, in 1772, was Benjamin Franklin's colleague as Deputy Postmaster-General for the Northern District of America. Their territory included Virginia, and Foxcroft was evidently on a tour of inspection of post-offices. Hoops may have been an inspector sent out from England, like Hugh Finlay whose journal of such an inspection is well known. William Ramsay was at this time postmaster at Alexandria. (See *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d Series, April, 1924.)

6. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Ferry before Dinner. In the afternoon Doctr. Rumney and Mr. James Adam came here and lodged.

7. Mr. Adam went away in the Morning early. Rid with the Doctr. to the Fishery at Posey's, who came back to Dinner with Mr. Campbell and went away in the Afternoon.

8. Rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole.

9. Rid to Doeg Run, Mill, and Ferry. Mr. Campbell lodged here.

10. Went to Pohick Church and returnd home to Dinner. Mr. Campbell Dined here.

11. Rid to the Ferry Plantatn., and Mill. Old Mr. Wm. Bayly dined here.

12. Went up to Alexandria with Mrs. Washington and Miss Custis[1] to see Captn. Wood's ship Launched. Returnd in the afternoon.

13. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, Mill, and Ferry Plantations before Dinner.

14. Dined at Belvoir, and returnd in the Afternoon. Found Colo. Mason here.

15. At home all day. Colo. Mason and Captn. McCarty dined here. The former went away after Dinner, the latter stayed all Night.

16. Went to Mr. Barnes's upon Business of Mrs. Barnes

[1] 'By Miss Custis for Pocket Money £3.' (*Ledger B.*)

and returnd to Dinner. Captn. McCarty went away after breakfast.

17. At home all day without company.

18. Went up to Court and stayed all Night. In the Evening Mr. Peale[1] and J. P. Custis came to Mount Vernon.

19. Mrs. Barnes came up to Alexandria. I returned home in the afternoon, and found Colo. Blackburn[2] and Lady, Miss Scott, Miss Brown, and Doctr. Brown here,[3] who came before Dinner. Also found Mr. Peale and J. P. Custis.

20. Colo. Blackburn and the Compa. with him went away after Breakfast. I sat to have my Picture drawn.[4]

21. Captn. Posey who came here the 19th went up to Alexandria this day. I set again to take the Drapery.

[1] Charles Willson Peale, the artist (1741–1827). Born in Maryland and died in Philadelphia. Received instruction from John Singleton Copley and studied under Benjamin West, in London. He is best known as a portrait painter.

[2] Colonel Thomas Blackburn, of Prince William County. He married a daughter of the Reverend James Scott, of Prince William. She was a cousin of George Mason, of 'Gunston Hall.' Bushrod Washington married Ann, the daughter of Colonel Blackburn. (*Toner.*)

[3] Toner thinks Frances Brown, sister of Dr. William Brown. Their father was the Reverend Richard Brown.

[4] This was the first portrait of Washington painted. It represents him, standing (an almost three-quarter length, full front), clad in the uniform of a colonel of the Virginia Militia. The uniform is blue with red facings and gold-lace edging; a purple sash crosses his chest from the left shoulder and a golden gorget is suspended from his neck; a sword hilt shows on the left side, and his left arm, behind his back, holds a musket, the muzzle of which protrudes above his left shoulder. His right hand is thrust into his waistcoat at his chest. The face is more youthful than might be expected (Washington was forty years old in 1772), and he wears a cocked hat generally known at that time as a 'Wolfe hat.' The background is foliage with a small landscape to the right. The portrait is one of the best-known of the Washington pictures.

22. Set for Mr. Peale to finish my Face.[1] In the afternoon Rid with him to my Mill. I returnd home by the Ferry Plantation.

23. Rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole before Dinner.

24. Set out after Dinner for Loudon, etca. Reachd Mr. Fairfax's and lodgd there.

25. Got to Leesburg to Dinner and stayed all Night.[2]

26. At Leesburg all day.

27. Set out with Mr. Bryan Fairfax to view some of his Lands on Goose Creek and Little River. Lodged at Mr. Charles West's.

28. Surveyed one of Mr. Fairfax's Tracts on Little Rivr., dined at one Jon. Jackson's, a Tenant of his, and lodgd again at Mr. Chs. West's.

29. Went up to Mr. Robt. Ashby's, dined and lodged there. After dinner went to view some more of Mr. Fairfax's Land on Goose Ck. and Chatten's R[un].[3]

30. Set out early viewd some Land belonging to Jesse

[1] The entry in Washington's accounts respecting this portrait is as follows: 'May 30. By Mr. Peale Painter, Drawg. my Picte. £18.4.0
Miniature Do. for Mrs. Washingtn. £13.
Ditto Do. for Miss Custis 13.
Ditto Do. for Mr. Custis 13. £57.4.0.'

[2] May 25. 'By Expences in a journey to Leesburg 2*s*.' May 27. 'By Expences at Leesburg £1.9.5. By Ditto at Robert Ashby's 13*s*. 3*d*. By Ditto at Snickers 4*s*. 6*d*.'

[3] This tract of six hundred acres on Chattin's Run (now in Fauquier near the village of Rectortown) had been granted in 1742 (*N. N.*, E: 495) to Bryan Fairfax's younger brother, who, in 1759, was killed in action beside Wolfe at Quebec, when Bryan inherited as heir-at-law. Washington bought it after this inspection.

Ball and one Kinnar.[1] Stopd a little while among my Tenants under the Ridge. Dined at Snicker's, and lodged at Mr. Warnr. Washington's.

31. At Mr. Wr. Washington's all day.

JUNE.

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Went with Mr. Wr. Washington and Mr. Willis to my Brother Saml., where we dined and stayed all Night.

2. Went to Run off the Land Capt. Kennedy lives on; also my smaller Tract by Mr. Keith's. Accomplished the former but not the latter.[2] Got to Mr. Wr. Washington's to Dinnr., and met my Br. Jno. and Wife[3] there.

3. Stayed at Mr. Washington's all day.

4. Set of on my return home. Dined at the Widow Evan's[4] and lodged at Mr. Edward Payne's.

5. Met the Vestry at our New Church[5] and came home in the afternoon where I found Capt. Posey, who had been here since I w[en]t.

6. At home all day. Posey and Mr. Robt. Alexander dined here. The latter went away afterwards.

7. Went to Pohick Church and Return'd to Dinner. J. P. C. came.

[1] In Fauquier County.
[2] 'By Cash paid a Chain Carrier 2*s.* 6*d.*' (*Ledger B.*)
[3] Hannah Bushrod, wife of John Augustine Washington.
[4] In Loudoun County.
[5] Pohick.

8. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and Mill.

9. Went into the Neck in the forenoon. Found Mr. Chichester and Wife, Miss Molly McCarty,[1] and Mr. Phil Pendleton here. The first went away.

10. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and Mill. Mr. Pendleton went away after Dinner.

11. Went into the Neck and ran Round Johnson's[2] Plantatn.; also some Lines across the Neck.

12. Rid over Muddy hole Wheat Field, also that at Doeg Run. Dr. Rumney came in the Ev[ening.]

13. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney Dined here and returnd in the afternoon. J. P. Custis returnd to Mr. Boucher's.

14. Made a Visit to Lord Fairfax at Belvoir. Mr. Byrd[3] and Mr. Willis[4] came home with me.

15. Mr. Willis went away early. Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Andrews[5] came to Dinner and stayd all Night, as did Mr. Magowan[6] at Night.

[1] Daughter of Daniel McCarty, of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

[2] Samuel Johnson, a tenant.

[3] This must have been one of the four sons of the fourth William Byrd, of 'Westover' (who died, 1777), and his first wife, Elizabeth Carter, of 'Shirley.' Two of these young men were subalterns in the British army. (See Appendix B to Bassett's *Writings of William Byrd.*)

[4] Francis Willis, of 'Whitehall,' on Mobjack Bay in Gloucester, called 'the elder' in the contemporary records to distinguish him from his son of the same name, mentioned in diary entry for November 17, 1774, *post.* (See *William and Mary Quarterly*, *v*, 24; *vi*, 27.)

[5] Toner thinks, Robert Andrews, of Northern Neck, Virginia.

[6] 'Mr. Magawan is not here, he has been fortunate in a Presentation to a good Parish (Herring Bay I think it is called, or known by) and is now living therein, in Maryland.' (*Washington's letter to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, 1769, January 26, in private hands.*)

16. The Gentlemen went away. I went up to Court and returnd at Night. Mr. Magowan came home with me.

17. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and back again from thence.

18. At home all day

19. At home all day. Mr. Magowan went away after Breakfast.

20. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Byrd, Mr. Andrews and Mr. Wagener came here.

21. Mr. Andrews and Mr. Wagener went away. Mr. Byrd and I went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner.

22. Lord Fairfax, Colo. Fairfax and Mrs. Fairfax dined here and returnd afterwards.

23. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and into Muddy hole Corn Field.

24. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Tilghman came here and stayed all Night.

25. Rid as far as the Mill and turnd back on acct. of Rain. In the Afternoon my Brothr. Jno. and Wife and Son Corbin[1] came here on there way from Fredk.

26. At home all day with my Brother, &ca.

27. Rid with my Brother to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and

[1] Corbin Washington (1765–99). Married Hannah, daughter of Richard Henry Lee, and lived in Westmoreland County.

Mill. Found Mr. Byrd (who went from here on Thursday last) and Mr. Tilghman here, who stayed all Night.

28. With the above went after Dinner in my Whale Boat to the Spring at Johnson's Place.

29. At home all day.

30. My Brother and Family set of home, Mr. Tilgham also. After Breakfast I rid with Mr. Byrd in the Forenoon to my Meadow at Doeg Run and to the Mill, and in the Afternn. went to Sound the Depth of the sevl. Fishing shores from Posey's to Gilbt. Simpson's.[1]

JULY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st*. At home all day with Mr. Byrd.

2. Mr. Byrd went over to Belvoir. I continued at home all day.

3. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, Muddy hole, and Doeg Run.

4. After Dinner Rid to Muddy hole to my Harvest People.

5. At home all day alone.

6. In the Afternoon Rid to my Mill where Messrs.

[1] The fishing shores of the Mount Vernon estate were off the so-called 'Posey Landing,' the landing above Dogue Run, on the Mansion House Farm, and the Sheridan Point Landing, above Little Hunting Creek, called 'Johnson's Landing.' Simpson's landing was above Sheridan's Point. An entry in the accounts shows that Washington purchased, on this day, two Dutch ploughs from Alexander Cleveland at a cost of £1.14.2.

Wm. Shaw and Adam Lynn [1] had been Inspecting my Flour.

7. Went up with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis to see Mr. Adam's new Store.[2] Returnd before Dinr.

8. Rid to the Harvest field at the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

9. Rid to Muddy hole, and into the Neck before Dinner, and to the Mill, etca. after Dinner. J. P. Custis came.

10. At home all the forenoon. In the afternoon Rid to the Mill, &ca. Mr. Benj. Dulany [3] and Mr. Tilghman [4] came in the Evening.

11. At home all day with those Gentlemen.

12. Mr. B. Dulany, &ca. went up to Church in Alexa. and returnd again in the afternoon.

13. Mr. Dulany, Mr. Tilghman, and J. P. Custis went to Belvoir.

14. The above Gentlemen returnd to Dinner. I rid to the Ferry and Mill Plantn. In the afternn. we went on board of Captn. Jordan. Mr. Geo. Digges returnd with us.

15. At home all day. Mr. Tilghman went away in the morning early; the other Gentlemen in the afternoon.

[1] Shaw and Lynn were the flour inspectors duly authorized by law. (See entry under July 24th in 'Remarks & Occurs. July,' *post.*)

[2] In Alexandria.

[3] Son of Daniel Dulany. He married Elizabeth French and resided at Shuter's Hill, near Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

[4] James Tilghman on this day, July 10th, bought 30 barrels of shad from Washington, paying him £40.10.0. for the lot.

16. Went up in the afternoon with Mrs. Washington, J. P. Custis, Miss Custis, and Milly Posey to a Ball in Alexandria. Lodgd at my House in Town.

17. Came home to Dinner. Mr. Byrd returnd in the afternoon.

18. At home all day except Riding to the Ferry Plantn. Mr. Byrd here.

19. Went with Mr. Byrd and J. P. Custis to Pohick Church and Dined at Belvoir. Returnd in the Evening.

20. Colo. Fairfax and Lady, Mr. W. Washington, Lady and 3 Children; Mr. Norton,[1] Mr. Prentis,[2] Mr. Whiting and Mr. Jno. Lewis, Dined here and in the Afternoon Colo. Lewis came.

21. Colo. Fairfax and the two Mrs. Fairfax's, Miss Carlyle, Mr. Norton and Mr. Prentis went away after Breakfast.

22. At home all day with the Company that remaind yesterday. Mr. Jenifer Adams [1] Dined here.

23. Dined with the above Compa. at Belvoir and lodged there.

24. Dined at Belvoir this day also, and returnd in the Evening with Colo. Lewis, Mr. Jno. Lewis, Mr. Byrd and Mr. Whiting.

25. Went a fishing and dined at the Fish House at the Ferry Plantation.

[1] John Norton, merchant, of Yorktown, Virginia. (*Toner.*)
[2] John Prentis. (*Toner.*)
[3] Daniel Jenifer Adams, of Charles County, Maryland.

26. Mr. W. Washington and Wife, and Mr. Norton and Mr. Prentis dined and Lodged here as did C. Posey.

27. The above four went away after Breakfast, as did Mr. Byrd also along with them in order to set of home the next day.

28. Colo. Lewis and Son, and Mr. Whiting went away after Breakfast. So did J. P. Custis to Mr. Boucher's.

29. Rid to the Mill Plantation, the Mill and Doeg Run; also to the Meadow at the Mill. Mrs. Cox[1] came here. Captn. Posey and Daughter went over to Mary[lan]d.

30. Rid into the Neck.

31. At home all day. Mr. Hy. Peake dined here. Mrs. Cox went away after Dinner.

JULY

Remarks & Occurs.

3d. Began my Wheat Harvest at Muddy hole and Doeg Run, in the following manner, Viz. At Doeg Run with the two Davy's, and two Sons of Brummil, as Cradler's; and the Wheat being rather green, no regular assortment of Cradlers was allotted to them as yet.

At Muddy hole, Palmer (who did not work himself, but only acted as an Instructer) and Six of the youngest Cradlers began.

6. Began in the Neck with Mike and Tom, and three White Men; but as hands were Shifted from place to place there were sometimes more and sometimes less in each Field.

[1] Mrs. Presley Cox, who came to Mount Vernon to do dressmaking.

10. Finished the Harvest at Muddy hole and carried the hands from thence to the Ferry Plantation.

11. Finished at Doeg Run from whence some hands went into the Neck, and the Rest to the Mill.

18. Compleated my Harvest in the Neck, the Ferry Plantation, and every where else. Began to Sow Wheat in the Neck.

22. Began to cut my Meadow at the Mill and finished it the 30th.

23. Began to Ditch the Swamp at the Ferry.

24. Captn. Brodie Saild for the West Indies with my Flour on Board, 273 Barls.[1]

27. Began to Sow Wheat at Muddy hole; also at Doeg Run.

30. Finished Sowing one Cut in the Neck, that is the uppermost but one on the Creek.

31. Began to Sow Wheat at the Mill.

AUGUST

Where & how my time is Spent.

Augt. 1. Rid to the Ferry Plantn., Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

2. Went to Pohick Church and Dined with Mrs. Wash-

[1] Just before sailing, Captain Brodie purchased a barrel of corn from Washington for which he paid sixteen shillings.

ington and Patcy Custis at Captn. McCarty's. Came home in ye afternn.

3. At home all day alone.

4. Rid to the Ferry Plantation and returnd from thence.

5. At home all day alone.

6. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

7. At home all day, writing and Posting my Books.

8. Ditto — Ditto.

9. At home all day alone.

10. Rid to the Ferry Plantation, to the Mill, and where my Ditchers were at Work there. In the Evening Doctr. Rumney, Mr. Kirkpatrick,[1] Mr. Balmain and Mr. Cox came here.

11. Went with those Gentlemn. a Fishing, and Dined undr. the Bank at Colo. Fairfax's near his White Ho.,[2] found Mrs. Cox here when we returnd.

12. After Breakfast the Gentlemen went away. Mrs. Cox continued, and I rid to my Ditchers at the Mill.

13. Went into the Neck and run round and divided the New Plantn. I intend to make there into three fields.

[1] John Kirkpatrick, of Alexandria.

[2] White House, on the Belvoir estate, below Mount Vernon. It was, originally, the custom-house and gave its name to the 'battle of White House,' in 1814.

14. Rid to the Ditchers at the Ferry and Mill. Mrs. Cox went away about 12 Oclock.[1]

15. At home all day alone.

16. At home this day also. In the Afternoon Captn. Posey and his Daughter returnd.

17. Went up to Alexandria to Court. Stayd all Night. Dind with Mr. Adam.

18. In Town all day and Night. Din'd and Suppd at Arrell's.

19. Ditto. Ditto. Dined at Arrell's. Suppd no where.

20. Still in Town. Dined at Arrell's and went to the Ball in the Afternoon.

21. Dined at Arrell's again and returnd home after Dinr.

22. Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole; also to the Mill and Ditchers there.

23. At home all day alone.

24. Went a Hunting, and into the Neck, but found nothing; came home by 12 Oclock.

25. At home all day a writing.

26. At home this day also.

[1] Mrs. Cox's presence at Mount Vernon is explained by the following entries in the accounts: August 14. 'By Mrs. Cox making and altering gowns for Mrs. Washington £12.12.6.' August 16. 'By Ditto—Makg. & Alterg. Do. for Miss Custis 15*s*.' (See also the diary entry under August 20th, *post*.) The dress-making activities were, probably, in anticipation of this ball.

27. Went with Mrs. Washington and Miss Custis to Mr. William Digges's and Dind there, only Betcy and Jenny Digges at home. Returnd in the afternoon.

28. Surveyd Mr. John West's Land in my Neck at his Request.

29. Rid to Muddy hole, Dogue Run, and to the Ditchers at the Mill.

30. At home all day. Mr. Willm. Digges Dined here.

31. At home all day alone. In the Evening Mr. Custis came.

AUG[US]T

Remarks & Occurs.

3. Finished Sowing the Cut next the Tumbling Dam at Doeg Run with Wheat — 43 Bls. The same day began to Sow Wheat at the Ferry Plantn.

4. Finished Sowing the uppermost Cut with Wheat in the Neck — the Cut next Abe[dnego] Adams's — 67 Bls.

10. Dennis Curran, Cook Jack, Schomberg, Arlington, Peter, and London began to Work on my Mill Race Scouring it out.

11. Finished the third Cut in the Neck with Wheat — 65½ Bushls.

12. Also finished the Cut at Doeg Run about Jno. Gist's House — 53 Bushels.

14. Sowed all the Ground at the Ferry on this side the Swamp — 68½ Bushels put therein.

17. Finishd Sowing the large Cut with Wheat at Muddy hole — 70 Bushls., and began to Sow the Small Field adjoining.

19. Finishd that also and sowd 14 Bushls. of Wheat in it.

19. Finishd the third Cut with wheat at Doeg Run; to wit, that next Marshall's [1] Plantn., and Sowd 43 Bush. therein.

20. Finishd my fourth and last Cut in the Neck — 74½ Bushels — which makes the whole amount sowed there upon 210 acres, 271 Bushls.

29. Finishd Sowing the 4th and last Cut with Wheat at Doeg Run Qr. — 50 Bushls. — which make in all Sowed there upon abt. 150 acres, 189 Bushels.

SEPTEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid to the Ferry and from thence to the Mill. In the afternoon Doctr. Rumney came and lodgd all Night.

2. Rid to the Ditcher's at the Mill, the Doctr. going away after Breakfast.

3. Rid to the Ditcher's again.

4. Set out with Mrs. Washington and Miss Custis (attended by Mr. Custis) on a Visit to Mr. Boucher, &ca. Breakfasted at Mr. Wm. Digges's (the Horses and carriage being got over the day before) and dined at Mr. Bouch-

[1] Thomas Marshall. (*Toner.*)

er's [1] with Govr. Eden and Mr. Calvert, and his two Daughters.[2]

5. Dined at the same place and in the said Company. Mr. Calvert and Daughters went away in the afternoon.

6. Went to Church with Govr. Eden in his Phaeton.

7. Dined at Mr. Calvert's (going with the Govr. in his Phaeton and calling at Mr. Sprigs.[3]) Mr. Igns. Digges and Family dind here also. We lodgd, they retd.

8. At Mr. Calvert's all day and night.[4] The Govr. returnd to Annapolis this Morning.

9. Mr. Boucher, who came to this place with us, returnd home early this morning. We dined at Mr. Igns. Digges with a good deal of Compa., among whom Mr. Calvert's D[aughte]rs, he himself going to Annapolis.

10. At Mr. Digges's all day. Miss Calverts came, and returnd in the Afternoon.

11. Returnd home by the way of Mr. William Digges's, where we Dined and where my Boats met us.

12. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, Mill and Ferry Plantations; also to the Ditchers in my Mill Race.

13. At home all day; in the afternoon Mr. Willis came and lodgd.

[1] The Reverend Jonathan Boucher, Saint Anne's Parish, Annapolis, Maryland.

[2] Benedict Calvert and his two daughters, Eleanor and Elizabeth. John Parke Custis married Eleanor.

[3] Thomas Sprigg, near Annapolis. (*Toner.*)

[4] September 9th. Washington entered in his Cash Memorandum Book 'To Cash won at Cards at Mr. Calverts 10*s*.'

14. Set out for Fredericksburg about 7 Oclock; Dined and Fed my Horses at Peyton's on Acquia and reachd Fredericksburg abt. Dusk. Lodgd at my Mother's.

15. Rid to my two Plantations on the River and returnd to Mr. Lewis's to Dinner. Spent the Eveng. at Weedon's.

16. Dined at my Brother Chas. and spent the Evening at Colo. Lewis's.

17. Set of on my return home.[1] Dined at Dumfries and reachd home abt. Dusk.[2] Found Mrs. French and her Daughter and Miss Molly Manly here.

18. Went upon the Survey and Division of Wade's Land between Barry and me.[3] Colo. West, Mr. Jno. West,[4] Captn. McCarty, and Captn. Darrel, Comm[issione]r[s], came home with me, as did Val Crawford, Mr. Geo. West and Chs. West.

19. Went on the same business again to day. Mrs. French etca., went away after Breakfast. Colo. West and Jno. West came home with me to Dinnr. and went afterwds.

20. At home all day. Weather clear and Warm, with but little Wind.

21. Went up to Court at Alexa. and Dined at Arrel's, and Supped at Arrel's. Lodged at my own House.

[1] In the Cash Memorandum Book Washington has entered under date of September 16th, 'By Cash paid my Mother in the presence of my Br. Chas. £30.'

[2] 'By Expences at Colchester 1*s.* 6*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book.*)

[3] 'By Cash paid Jno. Javings carrying Chain 3*s.* 9*d.*' (*Ledger B.*)

[4] Son of Hugh, nephew of John West, of Fairfax County.

22. In Alexandria Still. Dined and Supped at Arrel's.

23. In Alexandria till the afternoon. Dined at Arrel's and came home with Colo. Fairfax and Val Crawford.

24. Went with Colo. Fairfax to Survey Charles West's land, wch. I finished a little before Night. Mr. Bryan Fairfax came here.

25. Rid with Mr. Bryan Fairfax to look at some Land of his on Pohick. Tom Gist came this aftern.

26. Went and resurveyed West's Land — some mistake happening the first time. Mr. Gist and Mr. Val Crawford both went away this Morning.

27. Set of for Pohick Church and got almost there, when word was brought that Mr. Massey was sick. Returnd and found Nanny Peake and Biddy Fleming [1] here, who went away after Dinner.

28. At home all the forenoon. In the afternoon Rid to the Ferry Plantn., the Mill, and Doeg Run.

29. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill, and to the Ditchers on the Race. In the afternoon Prior Theobald came here and lodged.

30. Went to Colo. Fairfax's and Dined. Returnd in the Eveng. Mr. Fitzhugh,[2] Mr. Brown and Mr. Burwell, came here in the afternoon.

[1] Daughter of Thomas Fleming, of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

[2] This seems to have been John Fitzhugh, of 'Marmion,' in Stafford, who married a daughter of Nathaniel Harrison, of Brandon.

SEPT[EMBE]R

Remarks & Occurs.

1*st.* Finish'd Ditching at the Ferry Plantation — 200 Rod in the whole.

2. Finishd Sowing Wheat at Muddy hole Plantation, 123½ Bushls. in the whole.

2. Finishd Sowing Wheat at the Ferry Plantation; also 84 Bushls. on the other side the Swamp next Mrs. French's, making in all 152½ Bushls. sowed there.

3. Sent Adam and Jupiter from Muddy hole to Work on the Mill Race. Also Bath and Robin from Dogue Run there.

4. Began to Sow Wheat at the Home House.

9. Finishd Sowing Wheat at the Mill Plantation, 89 Bushl.

10. Compleated Sowing my Wheat at the Home House, 66½ Bush., which makes in all this year: At Ho. House, 66½ Bushls. In the Neck 271; Muddy hole 123½; Ferry Plantn. 152½; Doeg Run 189; Mill 89; In all, 891½ Bushls.

17. This day agreed with my Overseer [William] Powell, at the lower Plantation on Rappah., to continue another year on the same lay as the last, provided the number of hands are not Increasd; but, if I should add a hand or two more, and let him (as I am to do at any rate) choose 5 of the best Horses at that Quarter and the upper one, he is in that case to receive only the 8th of what Corn, Wheat, and Tobo. he makes on the Plantation.

29. Danl. Minor and Joshua Key came here to work.

OCTOBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day with the Gentn. that came yesterday Afternoon. Colo. Burwell,[1] and Mr. Jno. Fitzhugh, and Colo. Fairfax came to Dinner. Colo. Burwell and Mr. Jno. Fitzhugh stayd all Night; the other Gentn. went away after Dinner.

2. Colo. Burwell and Mr. Fitzhugh went away after Dinner.

3. I rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, etca., before Dinner. In the Afternoon went into the Neck.

4. Set of for the Annapolis Races. Dined and lodged at Mr. Boucher's.

5. Reachd Annapolis.[2] Dined at the Coffee House with the Jocky Club and lodgd at the Govrs. after going to the Play.[3]

6. Dined at Majr. Jenifer's. Went to the Ball, and Suppd at the Govrs.[4]

7. Dined at the Govrs. and went to the Play afterwards.

8. Dined at Colo. Loyd's and went to the Play; from thence early to my Lodgings.

[1] Lewis Burwell, of the Council.

[2] 'By Ferriage over So. River 1*s.* 6*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book.*)

[3] John Parke Custis accompanied Washington to the races. Oct. [5]. 'By sundry Tickets to the Plays there £1.0.0.' 'By Do .... Do .... to the Ball Do. 12*s.*' Oct. 10. 'By Cash lost on the Races £1.6.0.' (*Ledger B.*)

[4] Thomas Eden.

9. Dined at Mr. Ridout's. Went to the Play and to the Govrs. to Supper.

10. Dined at Mr. Carroll of Carrollton and set out for Mr. Boucher's, which place I arrivd at abt. 8 Oclock.

11. Got home to a late Dinner.[1] Jno. Parke Custis came with me. Found Mrs. Barnes there.

12. Rid to the Ferry, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole Plantns. before Dinner, and went into the Neck to run some lines afterwd.

13. Went up to Alexandria and returnd home to Dinner. C[apt] Posey ca[me.]

14. Went into the Neck to lay of some Fencing, etca. Posey went away.[2]

15. Rid to the Mill, etca.

16. At home all day. Mr. Piper [3] and Mr. Adam came to Dinner and went away afterwards. Captn. McCarty, his wife, and son,[4] came after Dinr. and stayd the Night.

17. They went away after Breakfast. I rid out in the Afternoon to the Mill and Doeg Run.

18. Dined at Belvoir and returnd.

[1] 'By Ferriage over So. River 1*s*.' (*Cash Memorandum Book.*)

[2] October 14. 'By Cash pd. Captn. Posey for his Right to 3000 Acres of Land undr. ye Kings Proclamation of Octr. 1763 — 5 half Joes. £11.11.3.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] October 16. 'By Cash pd. Mr. Harry Piper for 200 Bls. Coal £7.10.—' (*Ledger B.*)

[4] Daniel McCarty, Jr.

19. Went up to Court at Alexa. Returnd in the afternoon.

20. Rid to the Ferry, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole Plantn.

21. Set of for Williamsburg.[1] Dined at Colchester and lodgd in Dumfries; Mrs. Washington, Mr. and Miss Custis with me.[2]

22. Reachd Fredericksburg to Dinner.[3] Lodgd at Colo. Lewis's.

23. Dined at Caroline Court House and reachd Hubbard's in the Afternoon. Foundered two of my Horses.

24. Reachd Todd's Bridge to Breakfast, and Colo Bassett's in the Evening.

25. Assisting Crawford[4] with his Surveys.

26. About the Same business [this] day also.

27. On the same business.

[1] This trip was undertaken principally on the land-grant business. There was no session of the Burgesses from April, 1772, until March, 1773.

[2] October 21. 'By my travelling expens. to Williamsburg. £3.15.0. Mr. Custis's ... Ditto to Ditto £1.0.8. Miss Custis's ... Ditto to Ditto 12*s*. 9*d*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] October 22. 'By a year's and 3 Months Ferriage at ye lower Ferry on Rappa. oppe. my Mothers. 12*s*. 6*d*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[4] Captain William Crawford. The surveys of lands on the Ohio, granted to the Virginia officers and men for their services in the French and Indian War. The assistance given by Washington was the plotting and drafting of the various claims from Crawford's survey notes. Most of these plats, drawn by Washington, are in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress. In November, Washington enters in his cash account a payment of £20.16.0. to Mr. Everard, on the 20th, for fees for patenting the 200,000 acres of land claimed by the Virginia soldiers, and on December 4th he sent Everard an extra fee of £5 to hasten the patents through.

28. Still employed in the same work.

29. Ditto — Ditto

30. Ditto — Ditto

31. Went a foxhunting and killd a Fox, in Compa. with sevl. others.

OCT[OBE]R

Remarks & Occurrs.

7. Finished getting and Securing my Fodder at the Ferry Plantn.

8. Turn'd the Water into my Mill Race, this day finishing cleansing it out.

10. Finishd Securing my Fodder at the Mill.

12. Finished Do. at Muddy hole and Doeg Run.

13. Also finishd Do. in the Neck.

NOVEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At Colo. Bassett's all day.

2. Went to Williamsburg in Company with Captn. Crawford. Dined at Southall's and went to Mr. Baylor's[1] Ball in the Evening.

3. Breakfasted, Dined and Suppd at the Governor's.

4. Dined at the Speaker's, and Supped at Mrs. Vobe's.

[1] John Baylor. (*Toner.*)

5. Dined with the Council. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

6. Took a Cold Cut at Southall's. Went up to Colo. Bassett's.

7. Busy with Captn. Crawford all day.

8. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

9. Ditto — Ditto.

10. Rid up with Mr. Hill[1] to Rockahock, and Plantations in New Kent, and returnd, after Dining with Mrs. Chamberlayne, to Colo. Bassett's at Night. Mr. Custis went with me.

11. Went with Mr. Custis over to Claiborne's[2] and returnd to Dinnr.

12. Went to Williamsburg with Mrs. Washington, Mr. and Miss Custis. Lodged at Mrs. Ambler's; also dined there and spent the Evening at Mrs. Vobe's.

13. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and went to a Ball at the Apollo[3] in the Evening.

14. Dined with Mrs. Ambler and spent the Evening at the Coffee House.

15. Dined and Spent the Evening at the Speaker's.

16. Dined at Mrs. Ambler's and spent the Evening there

[1] James Hill, overseer of a plantation belonging to John Parke Custis, near Williamsburg.

[2] P. Claiborne, of New Kent County, on the Pamunky River. (*Toner.*)

[3] The Apollo Room in the Raleigh Tavern, Williamsburg.

also, after setting a while with Colo. Bassett at Mrs. Dawson's.[1]

17. Rid to the Plantations under Mr. Hill near Town, and dined at Southall's.

18. In my own Room settling Mr. Hill's Acct. all Dinner time; but spent the Evening at Anderson's.[2]

19. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening in my own Room a writing.

20. Set out about two Oclock for Colo. Bassett's.[3]

21. Left Colo. Bassett's on my return home. Dined at King William Court House and lodgd at Mr. Hubbard's.

22. Breakfasted at Hubbard's, and reachd Fredericksburg about 4 Oclock.[4] Lodgd at Colo. Lewis's.

23. At Fredericksburg, attending the Intended meeting of Officers at Captn. Weeden's.[5]

24. On the same business all day, and at the same place.

25. Still in Fredericksburg.

[1] November 16. 'By Cost of seeing Wax work 7*s.* 6*d.* By Ditto . . . Do Puppit Shew 11. 6*d.*' (*Ledger B.*)

[2] 'By Club at Andersons 4*s.* 8*d.*' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] November 20. 'By my Board at Mr. Charlton's £4.10.0 By Mr. Custis's Board at Ditto 2.10. — By my travellg. Expens. from Wmsburg home £3.12.2. Mr. Custis's . . Ditto . . Ditto . . 12*s.* 3*d.* Miss Custis's Ditto . . . Ditto. 5*s.* 6*d.*' (*Ledger B.*)

[4] November 22. 'By a Musick Book for Miss Custis. 6*s.* 6*d.* By 2 Bottles Norris's Drops for Miss Custis. £1.' (*Ledger B.*) These purchases presumably were made before leaving Williamsburg.

[5] On the business of distribution of land to officers and men under the grant for services in the French and Indian War.

26. Rid over the River to my Plantations, and examind the Land at the upper place.

27. Set of from Fredericksburg[1] and reachd Colo. Henry Lee's where we lodged.

28. Stayed at Colo. Lee's all day.

29. Reachd home to Dinner.

30. At home all day — writing.

DECEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day a Writing to Williamsburg.[2]

2. At home all day. Messrs. Dulany and Tilghman came at Dinner time, and stayd all Night.

3. Went a Fox hunting. Found one in Mr. G. Alexander's Pocoson, and killd it after 3 hours chase. In the afternoon Mr. B. Fairfax and Mr. Wagener came here.

4. Went a hunting again, but found nothing. Mr. Wagener and Messrs. Tilghman and Dulany went home in the Afternoon.

5. Went a hunting with Mr. Fairfax. Found a Fox between Edd. Williams's[3] and Johnson's, which we lost after a Chase of two hours.

6. Mr. Fairfax went away after breakfast, and Mr. Jno. Fitzhugh of Marmion came in the afternoon.

[1] 'By Cash paid my Mother. £15.' (*Ledger B.*)

[2] December 4th, Washington sent his Williamsburg letters to that town by his servant Giles.

[3] Edward Williams, a tenant of Washington.

7. Mr. Fitzhugh went away abt. 12 Oclock. I rid to the Ferry Plantation before Dinner.

8. Rid over Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill Plantations before Dinner. In the Eveng. my Brothrs. Jno. and Chas., and Mr. Jno. Smith came.

9. Went into the Neck abt. 11 Oclock a fox hunting. Touchd the Drag where we found the last, but did not move the Fox.

10. At home all day.

11. My Brothr. Jno. Set of homewards, Mr. Smith to Frederick. I accompanied him as far as Alexa., from whence I returnd in the afternoon. Mr. Dulany, Doctr. Brown and Mr. Brown with me.

12. Doctr. Brown went away abt. 12 Oclock and Mr. Brown after Dinner.

13. My Brother Chas. returnd home very Early this Morning, and Mr. Dulany went up to Alexa. after Breakfast.

14. Went into the Neck on foot, crossing the Creek with a Gun. Captn. McCarty and his Bro. Thadeus, and a Dutch Minister Dined here.

15. Went a Hunting and found two Foxes, both of which were killd, but only one got, the Dogs running out of hearg. with the 2d.; Found these Foxes on the Hills by Isaac Gates's.[1]

[1] Isaac Gates's place was to the southwest of Mount Vernon.

16. Mr. Val Crawford who came yesterday went away this day. At home all day.

17. Govr. Eden and Mr. Custis came here to Dinner, and Mr. Geo. Digges after Dinner.

18. Mr. Boucher, his Wife and Sister came to Dinner.

19. Mr. William Digges and his four Daughters came, as also a Mr. B. Buckner, who bot. Flour of me.[1]

20. All the above Company here all day.

21. The whole went over to Mr. Digges's. Mrs. Washington, myself, &ca., went with them and stayd all Night.[2]

22. Returnd home early in the Morning, and went up to Alexa. to Court. Came back in the aftern.

23. Went a Hunting, but found nothing. In the Evening Colo. Fairfax came.[3]

24. At home all day. After breakfast Mr. Buckner went away, as Colo. Fairfax did after Dinr.

25. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner. Found Mr. Tilghman here.

26. At home all day with Mr. Tilghman.

[1] Baldwin Buckner, of the firm of Baldwin & John Buckner, of Gloucester. The purchase was of 300 barrels of superfine flour and casks, and the price obtained was £616.13.0.

[2] December 21. 'To Cash won at Cards 18*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] December 23. 'To Cash Received from Colo. Fairfax in full for his 1st., 2d. and 3d. payment of the Land he is to have out of ye. Tract I bought from Charles West. £90.0.0.' (*Ledger B.*)

27. At home all day. Mr. Tilghman went away after Breakfast.

28. Went out a hunting. Found a fox back of Captn. Darrel's and killd it. Doctr. Rumney and a Lieutt. Winslow Dind here, the former stayd all Night.

29. Doctr. Rumney stayd all day and Night. To Dinner came Mr. Wren,[1] Mr. Carr, and Mr. Addison, the former of whom went away.

30. Went a Hunting but found nothing. Messrs. Addison and Carr dining here — as did Mr. Manley.

31. Mr. Magowan came here yesterday in the afternoon, and this day with Messrs. Carr and Addison went up after Dinner to Alexa.

[1] Of Fairfax County.

1773

January 1–December 31

Original in Library of Congress

[1773]

The following is the opinion of the late Lord Chanceller Cambden[1] and Chanceller York,[2] on Titles derived by the Kings Subjects from the Indians or Natives.

In respect to such places as have been, or shall be acquired by Treaty or Grant from any of the Indian Princes, or Governments, your Majestys Letters *Patents are not necessary, the Property of the Soil Vesting in the Grantee by the Indian Grants.* Subject only to your Majesty's Right of Sovereignty over the Settlements, and over the Inhabitants as English Subjects *Who carry with them, your Majestys Laws wherever they form Colonies, and receive your Majestys Protection, by Virtue of your Royal Chartres.*[3]

Sales of the Pews in Alexandria Church — to whom — &ca.[4]

Nos.	*Purchasers*	*Price*
4	Mr. Townsd. Dade	£28.
5	Colo. G. Washington	36.10
13	Mr. Robt. Adam	30.
14	Mr. Robt. Alexander	30.10
15	Mr. Dalton	20.
18	Mr. Thos. Fleming	21.5
19	Colo. Carlyle	30.
20	Mr. Wm. Ramsay	33.
28	Messrs. Jno. Muir &ca	36.5
29	Mr. Jno. West Junr.	33.
		£298.10
	Average price	£29.17

[1] Charles, Lord Camden, was Lord High Chancellor of England, 1766–70.
[2] The Honorable Charles Yorke was Lord High Chancellor, 1770–71.
[3] All the above is written on the first fly-leaf of the 1773 diary.
[4] Written on the second fly-leaf of the 1773 diary.

[1773]

JANUARY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Dined at Belvoir and returnd in the afternoon. Found Mr. Grafton Dulany, Mr. Ben. Gallaway, Mr. Sam Hanson, Mr. Magowan and Doctr. Rumney here.

2. Doctr. Rumney went away after Breakfast. Lord Sterling[1] and Captn. Foy,[2] with Colo. Fairfax, came to Dinner. The latter went away afterwards, the other Gentlemen stayd.

3. In the Afternoon Mr. Ben Dulany came here; the other Gentlemen continued all day here.

4. Lord Sterling and Captn. Foy set out after Breakfast for the Northward thro Alexa., to which place I accompanied them. The two Dulanys and Mr. Hanson also went away after Breakfast.

5. Mr. Gallaway went away. Mr. Magowan and I went a Hunting. Found a fox on Ackatinck[3] just by Lawson Parker's and lost it. In the afternoon Mr. Dulany came.

6. The 4 Mr. Digges's came to Dinner; also Colo. Fairfax,

[1] William Alexander, called Lord Stirling. Born in New York City, but lived most of his life in New Jersey. His claim to the earldom of Stirling was denied by the House of Lords. He married a daughter of Philip Livingston. He was, successively, colonel, brigadier, and major-general in the Continental Army, and was greatly trusted by Washington.

[2] Edward Foy, secretary to Governor Dunmore.

[3] Accotink.

Colo. Burwell, Messrs. Tilghman, Brown, Piper, Adam, Muir, Herbert,[1] Peake, and Doctr. Rumney, all of whom stay'd all Night, except Mr. Peake.

7. All the above Company went away before Dinner, except Doctr. Rumney and Mr. Magowan who both went afterwards.

8. I rid to Muddy hole, and into the Neck before Dinner. Captn. McCarty Dined here and Mr. Magowan lodged.

9. Mr. Magowan returnd to Maryland. I went ahunting. Found a Fox near Timber Landing and lost it near Mrs. French's.

10. At home all day. Mr. Geo. Digges, Messrs. David and Chas. Stewart,[2] Mr. Danl. Carrol Junr.,[3] and Mr. Richmond, dind and lodged here.

11. Went a Hunting with the above Gentlemen. Found a Fox by Gilbt. Simpson's and killd him by Mrs. French's. Mr. P. Pendleton and Mr. M. Campbell dined and lodged here; the others went away.

12. At home all day. Mr. Peake dind here, who with Mr. Campbell went away afterwards.

13. Went into the Neck in the forenoon to lay of a Fence at Halleway's.[4]

[1] William Herbert, an Irishman, settled in Alexandria and married a daughter of John Carlyle. He was afterward Mayor of Alexandria.

[2] The name should be spelled 'Steuart.' Elizabeth, daughter of Benedict Calvert, married Dr. Charles Steuart, of Maryland.

[3] Daniel Carroll, of 'Duddington,' one of the original proprietors of the land on which the City of Washington is laid out.

[4] Halloway (?), a tenant.

14. Mr. Pendleton went away after Breakfast. I rid up to Alexandria. Dind with Mr. Robt. Adam and returnd.

15. Rid to the Ferry, Mill, and Mill Plantations before Dinner; writing afterwards.

16. Rid into the Neck, to the Mill, and Muddy hole.

17. At home all day alone. Mrs. Barnes went up to Alexandria.

18. At home all day — alone.

19. At home all day alone.

20. At home all day alone.

21. Ditto. Ditto. In the Afternoon Doctr. Rumney came and stayd all Night.

22. At home all day, Doctr. Rumney continuing here.

23. Doctr. Rumney went way after Breakfast. I went by the Mill to Doeg Run Plantation to lay a fence there. Returnd to Dinner. Abed[neg]o Adams here.

24. At home all day alone.

25. Went a hunting and found a Fox upon the Hills by Edd. Wathing's [1] which Run near 4 hours and was either killd or treed: but the wind blowing fresh we were thrown out and could only judge from Circumstances. Came home to Dinner, and found Doctr. Rumney here, who stayd all Night.

[1] Edward Wathing, an artisan of Fairfax County. According to Washington's ledger of accounts he did blacksmith work and also made shoes for the slaves.

26. Doctr. Rumney continued here all day. In the forenoon I rid to the Mill and returnd to Dinnr.

27. At home all day, Doctr. Rumney continuing here this day also.

28. After breakfast, Doctr. Rumney returning home, I rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, Mill and Ferry Plantations.

29. At home all day alone.

30. Went a Fox hunting with Lund Washington. Took the drag of a Fox by Isaac Gates', and carrd. it tolerably well to the old Glebe; then touchd now and then upon a Cold Scent till we came into Colo. Fairfax's Neck, where we found about half after three upon the hills just above Accotinck Creek. After Running till quite Dark took of the Dogs and came home.

31. At home all day alone.

[FEBRUARY]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Bryan Fairfax came here and stayed all Night, as did three Travellers going to Maryland.

2. Mr. Fairfax and I went out with the hounds — touchd upon the Drag of the Rung-Fox upon the Hills just above Wathing's, but it being cold, as the day also was, we took the Dogs of and came home.

3. Went out again and touchd upon a Fox upon the Hills by Gates's and found another in Colo. Fairfax's Neck abt.

2 Oclock, which was killd after an hours chase. This Fox was found upon the Hills.

4. At home all day with Mr. Fairfax.

5. Mr. Fairfax went away. I continued in the House all day a Writing.

6. Rid into the Neck, and taking the Hounds with me, after being at the Plantns., found a fox between the two, which was killd in ¾ of an hour.

7. At home all day alone.

8. Doctr. Rumney came to Dinr. and stayd all Night. I contd. at home all day.

9. Doctr. Rumney continued all day and Night. After an early Dinner I set of to Mr. Robt. Alexander's upon Fox hunting Party, and in the afternoon Young Mr. Danl. Dulany,[1] Revd. Mr. Montgomerie,[2] Mr. Tilghman and Jno. Custis, came here and stayd all [night.]

10. Found a Fox in Mr. Phil Alexander's Island, which was lost after a chase of 7 hours.

11. Found a fox in the same place again, which was killd at the end of 6 hours; after wch I came home and found Mr. Dulany and Mr. Custis here.

12. At home all day, Mr. Dulany continuing here.

13. Still at home. Mr. Dulany and Mr. Custis went to Mrs. French's after Breakfast.

[1] Daniel Dulany, Jr.

[2] The Reverend John Montgomery, of Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County, Maryland.

14. At home all day — alone.

15. Went up to Court, and Returnd again in the Afternoon.

16. Went up again this Day also and returnd in the afternoon.

17. Went to Colo. Fairfax's to Dinner and returnd again in the afternoon.

18. At home alone all day, except one William Thompson's[1] coming abt. a Lott of Land in Fauquier.

19. Rid to the Ferry, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole Plantations before Dinner; at home alone afterwards.

20. Rid in the Forenoon to the Mill and Mill Plantation. Mr. Thomas Hite and Mr. Wm. Shaw dind here, and went away after it.

21. At home all day. Mr. Hoops and a Mr. Warton[2] calld here, but would not stay [to] dinner, taking a Cut before it.

22. At home all day alone.

23. At home this day also alone.

24. Rid to the Ferry, Mill, Mill Plantn., Doeg Run, and Muddy hole. In the Afternoon Mr. Bryan Fairfax and Mr. Robt. Alexander came here.

25. Went a hunting with these Gentlemen, and being

[1] Tenant on Washington's Fauquier County land.
[2] Thomas Wharton (?), of Philadelphia.

joind by the two Mr. Triplets, Mr. Manley, and Mr. Peake, all came here to Dinner and Mr. Thomas Triplet stayd all Night. Found a Fox in this Neck, but did not kill it.

26. Went a Hunting again with the above Company. Found a Fox in Colo. Fairfax's Neck with part of the Dogs, but believe it was not killd. Found Mr. Tilghman here upon our Return at Night.

27. Mr. Fairfax, Mr. Tilghman, and Mr. Alexander went away after Breakfast. I contind. at home all day alone.

28. At home all day. About Noon, Mr. Francis Willis,[1] Mr. Warnr. Washington, and my Brothr. Saml came here.

MARCH

Where, how, or with whom my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day, in Company with Mr. Willis, Mr. Warner Washington and my Bro: Saml.

2. Set of for Williamsburg[2] abt. 8 Oclock. Dined at Portobacco and Lodged at Laidler's.

3. Breakfasted at Port Royal, and Supped and Lodged at Todd's Bridge.

4. Dined at Doncastle's,[3] and got to Williamsburg abt.

[1] Francis Willis, of Berkeley County, Virginia.

[2] To attend the session of the House of Burgesses. Mrs. Washington and Patsy Custis went with him. '1773, Mar. To my Attendance in March Session. £5.10. To 10 travelling days £5. To Ferriages going & Coming £1.12.6. March 2. By Exps. at Potobacco. 5*s*. By Ditto at Laidlers. 6*s*. By Ferriage at Ditto. 9*s*. 6*d*. By Ditto at Port Royal. 1*s*. 6*d*. [Mar.] 3. By Exps. at Buckners. 3*s*. 9*d*. [Mar.] 4 By Ditto at Todds Bridge. 8*s*. 9*d*. By Ferriages at Ruffins. 3*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] Doncastle Ferry on the Pamunky River, in King William County.

half an hour by Sun. Lodgd at Mr. Charlton's, spending the Eveng. in my own Room alone.

5. Dined at the Speaker's and Spent the Evening there also.

6. Dined at the Treasurer's and Spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

7. Dined at the Governor's and Spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

8. Dined, and Spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

9. Dined at the Attorney's and Spent the Evening in my own Room writing.

10. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and Spent the Evening there also.

11. Dined and Spent the Evening in the Club Room at Mrs. Campbell's.[1]

12. Did the same.

13. Dined no where, but reachd Colo. Bassett's in the Afternoon on my return home.[2]

14. Set off about 10 Oclock. Dind at King William Court House and lodgd at Todd's Bridge.

15. Breakfasted at Port Royal about 12 Oclock, and lodgd at Mr. Lawe. Washington's.

[1] 'By Sundry Evening Clubs at Mrs. Campbells. £1.4.0.' (*Ledger B.*) Also, under date of March 11th, 'By Cash paid Doctr. Baker. Dentist. £1.6.0.'

[2] 'By Board at Mr. Charlton's durg. ye. Session. £2.0.0.' Miss Custis, apparently lodged at Miss Davenport's, and Mrs. Washington stayed with her.

16. Breakfasted in Port Tobacco and reachd home abt. 4 oclock in the afternoon.

17. At home all day alone.

18. Ditto. Ditto. except Riding to Muddy hole and the Plantation in the Neck, and to Sheridine's Point where my People were clearing a fishing Landing.

19. Went a hunting. Found a Fox by Muddy hole Plantation and Killd it after a chase of two hours and 3 Quarters.

20. Rid to the Ferry, Mill and Doeg Run Plantations; also to the Mill.

21. At Home all day alone.

22. At Home this day also — alone.

23. Went over to Mr. Wm. Digges's to Dinner, to meet Govr. Eden who with Mr. Calvert, Mr. Digges, Mr. Geo. Digges and Mr. Custis returnd with me. Found Mr. Loyd Dulany here.

24. At home with those Gentlemen till the Evening, when we went to Mr. Digges's again. Mr. Ben: Dulany also Dind with us.

25. At Mr. Digges's all day.

26. Ditto Ditto.

27. Returnd home to Breakfast. Mr. Loyd Dulany, and Mr. Geo. Digges with me. At home all the remaining part of the Day.

28. Went with Mr. Dulany and Mr. Digges, &ca., to Dine with Mr. Benj. Dulany at Mrs. French's. Returnd again in the afternoon.

29. Went a hunting with those Gentlemen. Found a Fox by Thos. Bailey's and had it killd by Our Dogs in half an hour. Retd. to Dinner, Mr. Manley with us.

30. Went a hunting again — found Nothing. Colo. Fairfax and Mr. Law. Lee, also Mr. Herbert and Mr. Miller Dined here. The last two stayd all Night.

31. Mr. Herbert and Mr. Miller, also Mr. Digges, went away before Breakfast; Mr. Dulany continuing.

[APRIL]

Where, how, or with whom my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid to my Mill, and Plantations on this side the Creek. Mr. Dulany went away after Breakfast, and Colo. Frans. Thornton and his Son came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

2. They with myself, etca, went up to Alexandria to the Genl. Muster and returnd in the afternoon. One old Wilper [1] came here to Dinner.

3. Colo. Thornton and Son went away after Breakfast. Mr. Custis also returnd to Maryld.

4. Mrs. Fairfax and Polly Brazier Dined here, as did Majr. Wagener. The latter stayd all Night. Mr. Jno. Baylor came in the afternoon.

[1] John David Woelpper was a sergeant in the Virginia Regiment in 1756. He was a captain in the Pennsylvania German battalion during the Revolution and was finally transferred to the Invalid Corps.

5. At home all day, Majr. Wagener Contd. till the afternoon, Mr. Baylor all day and Night. Mr. Campbell and Captn. [ ] of the Brig, Nancy, Dind here.

6. Mr. Baylor went away after Breakfast. The Captn. Dined here again and Mr. Campbell lodgd all Night.

7. Mr. Herbert, Doctr. Rumney and the Captn. Dind here, the Doctr. Staying all Night. I went into the Neck this day.

8. The Doctr. went away after Breakfast. The Captn. Dind here.[1]

9. At home all day. The Captn. Dined here — otherwise alone.

10. At home all day alone. Mr. Custis came in the afternoon.

11. Went to Pohick Church with Mrs. Washington and Mr. Custis, and returnd to Dinner.

12. Set of for Annapolis with Mr. Custis. Dined and lodgd at Mr. Boucher's with Govr. Eden and others.

13. Got to Annapolis. Dind and Lodgd at the Governor's, where I also Supped.

14. Dined and Suppd at Mr. Loyd Dulany's. Lodgd at the Govr's.

15. Dined at Colo. Sharpe's[2] and Returnd to Annapolis. Supd and Lodgd at the Governor's.

[1] On April 8th, Washington bought a parrot for six shillings, probably from the captain of the brig Nancy which was a West Indian trader.

[2] Horatio Sharpe (?), the ex-Governor.

16. Dined and Supped at Mr. Danl. Dulany's. Lodgd at the Gov'rs.

17. Left Annapolis. Dined and lodgd at Mr. Calvert's.

18. Reachd home to Dinner after passing through Piscataway Town.[1]

19. At home all day alone, except Mr. Smith (manager of Messrs. Herberts, etca. fishery) who stayd here.

20. Dined at Belvoir with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis. Returnd in the afternoon and found Mr. Tilghman, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Robt. Adam, and his Nephew, as also David Arrell — all of whom stayd all Night.

21. Mr. Adam and Nephew went away after breakfast, the rest stayd to Dinner and all Night. Mr. Robert Brent[2] came to Dinner and stayd the Evening.

22. All went away before breakfast. I rid into the Neck after it.

23. Rid to Doeg Run and Mill. Mr. W. Washington and Lady came to Dinner and stayd the Night.

24. Lord Fairfax and Colo. Fairfax, Mr. Calvert, his Lady and two Daughters, and Mr. Geo. Digges and Sister Teresa, dind here. The two first went away, the others contd.

25. At home all day with the above Company.

26. Went with Mr. Calvert, etca. to the Fishing Landing

[1] Piscataway, on Piscataway Creek, Prince George's County, Maryland.
[2] Robert Brent, merchant of Aquia, Stafford County, Virginia. (*Toner.*)

at the Ferry. Found Doctr. Digges, Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Fitzgerald[1] here upon our Return, who Dind and stayd all Night.

27. At home all day with the above Company. Mrs. Calvert, Mrs. Washington, and my Wife went to hear Mrs. Mason's Funeral Ser.[2]

28. Mr. Calvert's Family, Mr. Washington's, and the other Company, all went away after Breakfast. I contd. at home all day

29. Rid into the Neck, and from there sent to Sheridine's Point, attempting to clear it for the Sein.

30. Went to the Point again and made one or two pretty good Hauls.

[MAY]

Where, how, or with whom my time is Spent.

1*st.* Went to the different Fishing Landings on both sides the River as high as broad Creek,[3] and found that few Fish had been catchd.

2. Went to Belvoir and dined. Returned in the Afternoon.

3. Went by the Church to Colo. Mason's, where I dined

[1] John Fitzgerald, merchant of Alexandria and at one time mayor of that town. He came to America from Ireland before the Revolutionary War, married Jane, daughter of Jerome Digges, of Prince George's County, Maryland, and served as an aide to Washington during the Revolution. He died in 1800.

[2] Ann, wife of George Mason, of 'Gunston Hall'; died March 9, 1773. The services, April 27th, were in the nature of memorial services held at Pohick Church.

[3] Broad Creek, Prince George's County, Maryland; enters the Potomac about midway between Alexandria and Mount Vernon.

and Returnd in the Afternoon. F[oun]d Mr. Ramsay here who stayd all Night.

4. Went with Mr. Ramsay to the fishing Landings at the Ferry and Sheridine's point.

5. Mr. Ramsay went away before Dinner. I rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, Mill and Ferry Plantations. Found Mr. Hall and Mr. Adams here, who dind and went away afterwards.

6. At home all day. Mrs. Fairfax and Mrs. Washington came and went before Dinner. Mr. Tilghman came to Dinr. and stayd all Night.

7. Mr. Tilghman and Captn. Mathis dind here. both of which went away afterwds.

8. Mr. Custis, set of for Mr. Calvert's on his way to New York. I rid to the Plantations in the Neck.

9. At home all day, Messrs. Ramsay, Rumney, and Herbert dind here; the last of whom went away, the others stayd all Night.

10. Those two Gentlemen stayd to Dinner; after which I set out on my journey for New York.[1] Lodgd at Mr. Calvert's.

11. Breakfasted at Mr. Igns. Digges's. Dind at the Coffee Ho. in Annapolis and lodgd at the Govr's.

12. Dined, Supped and lodgd at the Governor's.

[1] To place John Parke Custis in King's College, now Columbia University, New York City. Governor Thomas Eden apparently accompanied Washington as far as Philadelphia to attend the races there.

13. After Breakfast and abt. 8 Oclock, set out for Rockhall [1] where we arrivd in two hours and 25 Minutes. Dind on Board the Annapolis at Chester Town,[2] and Supped and lodgd at Ringold's.[3]

14. Stopd at George Town on Sassafras, and dind and lodgd at Mr. Dl. Heath's.

15. Dined at Newcastle [4] and lodgd at Wilmington.

16. Breakfasted at Chester [5] and Dined at Govr. Penn's [6] in Philadelphia.

17. Dined again at Govr. Penn's and spent the Evening at the Jocky Club.

18. Dined with sevl. Gentlemen at our own lodgings and went to the Assembly [7] in the Evening.

19. Dined at the Govr's. and spent the Evening at Allan's.[8]

20. Dined with Mr. Cadwalader [9] and went to the Ball.

[1] On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Kent County. The Annapolis packet ferry ran across Chesapeake Bay from Annapolis to Rock Hall.

[2] Chestertown, county seat of Kent County, about a dozen miles from Rock Hall.

[3] Thomas Ringgold, near Chestertown.

[4] Delaware.

[5] Pennsylvania.

[6] Lieutenant-Governor Richard Penn (1735–1811). He arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1771. He sympathized with the colonies in the Revolution. Married Mary Masters, of Pennsylvania. He was superseded in office by his brother John later in this same year, 1773.

[7] The Philadelphia Assembly was composed of the best society in the city and gave regular balls.

[8] James Allan (1742–98), attorney of Philadelphia.

[9] John Cadwalader (1742–86), a firm friend of Washington. He was a brigadier-general of Pennsylvania militia during the Revolution. He shot Major-General Thomas Conway in a duel which was the outcome of the infamous 'Conway Cabal' against Washington, and tradition has it that, when Cadwalader saw

21. Dined with Mr. Merideth [1] and Spent the Evening at Mr. Mease's.[2]

22. Dined at Mr. Morris's [3] and Spent the Evening at the Club.

23. Set out for New York with Lord Sterling, Majr. Bayard [4] and Mr. Custis, after Breakfasting with Govr. Penn. Dind with Govr. Franklin [5] at Burlington [6] and lodgd at Trenton.

24. Breakfasted at Princeton. Dined at Bound Brooke, and Reachd Lord Sterling's at Basking Ridge [7] in the Afternoon.

25. Din'd and Lodg'd at Lord Sterling's. Drank Tea at Mr. Kimble's [8]

26. Din'd at Elizabeth Town, and reach'd New York in the Evening wch. I spent at Hull's Tavern.[9] Lodgd at a Mr. Farmer's. [10]

that his bullet had struck Conway in the mouth, he said: 'Well, I've stopped his damned lying mouth for a time, anyway.' After the Revolution, Cadwalader removed from Pennsylvania, to Kent County, Maryland.

[1] Samuel Meredith, a brigadier-general in the Pennsylvania militia during the Revolution and the first Treasurer of the United States under the present Constitution.

[2] James (?) Mease, merchant of Philadelphia, and at one time Clothier-General of the Continental Army.

[3] Robert Morris, merchant and financier of Philadelphia, Superintendent of Finance of the United States.

[4] Major Robert Bayard (?)

[5] Governor William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, and the last Royal governor of New Jersey. He sided with Great Britain in the Revolution and was imprisoned by the Colonists for two years. After his exchange, as a prisoner of war, he acted as President of the Board of Associated Loyalists.

[6] Burlington, New Jersey.

[7] Baskingridge, Somerset County, New Jersey.

[8] Peter Kimball. Lieutenant-General Thomas Gage married his daughter.

[9] Hull's Tavern was the old 'Province Arm's,' later known as 'Cape's Tavern.' It was on the northwest corner of Thames and Broadway.

[10] Samuel Farmer (?).

27. Din'd at the Entertainment given by the Citizens of New York to Genl. Gage.[1]

28. Dined with Mr. James Dillancey[2] and went to the Play and Hull's Tavern in the Evening.

29. Dined with Majr. Bayard and Spent the Evening with the Old Club at Hull's.

30. Dined with Genl. Gage and Spent the Evening in my own Room writing.

31. Set out on my return home.[3] Dined with Captn. Kennedy near New Ark[4] and lodgd at Amboy.

[JUNE]

Where, how, or with whom my time is Spent.

1*st*. Breakfasted at Brunswick[5] on the Banks of the Rariton, dind at Princeton, and lodgd at Bristol.[6]

2. Got to Philadelphia by Nine Oclock to my old lodging. Dind at my lodgings and Spent the Evening there.

3. Rid to the Meadows along the River before breakfast.

[1] Lieutenant-General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British troops in America. A friendship had sprung up between Washington and Gage when they were serving together under General Braddock. Gage commanded the British forces at Boston at the outbreak of the Revolution. The entertainment was given as a farewell tribute to Gage, who sailed for England in June.

[2] James De Lancey, born in New York, 1732; died in England, 1800. Son of Peter De Lancey and Elizabeth Colden, and nephew of Oliver De Lancey. He was an active loyalist in the Revolution and commanded, as colonel, a battalion of loyalist cavalry, generally known as De Lancey's 'Cowboys.'

[3] 'By my Expences (Including Mr. Custis's) going to, & returng. from New York & fixing him at the College there £50.14.3 Pensa. equal to £40.11.5.' (*Ledger B.*)

[4] Newark, New Jersey.

[5] New Brunswick, New Jersey.

[6] Bristol, Pennsylvania.

Abt. 11 Oclock left Phila. dind at the Sorrel Horse [1] 13 Miles from it, and lodgd at the Ship Tavern [2] 34 [miles] off.

4. Breakfasted at the Sign of the Bull, 13 Miles from the Ship; dind at Lancaster, 19 Miles further, and lodgd at Wright's Ferry, 10 Miles from Lancaster.

5. Breakfasted in York Town. Dind at the Sign of the Buck,[3] 14 miles from Yk., wch is 12 Miles from Wright's Ferry,[4] and lodgd at Sutton's, 15 M. from the Buck.

6. Breakfasted at Slade's, 10 Miles from Sutton's, and dind and lodgd at Baltimore Town.

7. Breakfasted at Widow Ramsay's, 15 Miles from Baltimore, and lodgd at Mr. Calvert's.

8. Reach's home to Dinner about two Oclock. Mr. Buckner came here in the Evening and lodgd.

9. Went up to Alexandria wth. him and returnd in the Afternoon.

10. At home all day alone.

11. Mr. Buckner and Mr. Robinson [5] dind here; also Captn. Harper [6] and a Mr. Large. After Dinner Miss

[1] Sorrel Horse Tavern, on the old Lancaster road. It is now the residence of George H. McFadden.

[2] Ship Tavern, five miles from Warren, Pennsylvania, was the second Ship Tavern; the first was about a mile or so from the location of the second.

[3] Buck Tavern at Haverford, Pennsylvania, was built in 1735. It is now the residence of D. C. Martin.

[4] Wright's Ferry on the Susquehannah River, run by John Wright between Columbia, in Lancaster, and what is now Wrightsville, in York County.

[5] Michael Robinson (?), of Fredericksburg.

[6] Toner thinks Captain John Harper, a sea captain, of Alexandria.

Reed, Miss Nelly Calvert,[1] Doctr. Rumney and Mr. Campbell came, all of them staying the Night.

12. Captn. Harper, Mr. Large and Mr. Campbell went away after Breakfast; Mr. Buckner and Mr. Robinson after Dinner.

13. Went up with Miss Reed, etca., to Alexa. Church. Returnd to Dinner with Mr. Willis. Doctr. Rumney w[en]t away.

14. At home all day, Mr. Willis continuing here.

15. Still at home, being here Mr. Willis. In the forenoon Mr. Tilghman came.

16. Mr. Willis went away after Breakfast. Mr. Robinson and Mr. Buckner came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

17. All of the Company here Rid to the Mill. To Dinner came Lame Jno. Washington [2] and Miss Terrett.

18. Every one but Miss Reed and Miss Nelly Calvert went away after Breakfast. In the afternoon my Bro. Jno., his wife, Daughter Jane and young Child came here.

19. At home all day. About five oclock poor Patcy Custis Died Suddenly.[3]

[1] Eleanor Calvert.

[2] Supposed to be of the family of John Washington of Stafford County. (*Toner.*)

[3] 'Yesterday . . . the Sweet Innocent Girl Entered into a more happy and peaceful abode than any she has met with in the afflicted Path she hitherto has trod. She rose from dinner about four o'clock in better health and spirits than she appeared to have been in for some time; soon after which she was seized with one of her usual Fits, and expired in it, in less than two minutes without uttering a word, a groan or scarce a sigh — This sudden and unexpected blow, I scarce

20. Colo. Fairfax and Lady, as also Mr. Massey dined here, Patcy Custis being buried.[1] The first went away, Mr. Massey stayd.

21. Mr. Massey went away after Breakfast. I continued at home all day.

22. My Brother John, his Wife, Miss Reed and Nelly Calvert, Dind at Belvoir and returnd in the Afternoon. I contd. at home all day.

23. My Brother and Family, also Mr. Reed went away early, I contd. at home all day.

24. Mr. Digges and Mrs. Tracy came her to Dinner; also Mr. Hoops and his wife, the latter of whom went away afterwards, as did Mr. Digges. Miss Calvert came in the Afternoon.

25. Walkd into the Neck.

26. Rid to Muddy hole, Ferry, etca., after Miss Digges went away in the Morning.

27. The two Miss Calverts went up to Church. Mr. Calvert came over to Dinner and stayd all Night, as did Mr. Tilghman from Alexa.

28. Mr. Calvert and his Daughters and Mr. Tilghman, all went away in the Morning Early.

29. Went with Mrs. Washington and Dind at Belvoir. Returnd in the Afternoon.

need add has almost reduced my poor Wife to the lowest ebb of Misery . . .' (*Washington to Burwell Bassett, June* 19, 1773.)

[1] June 20. 'By Cash pd. the Revd. Massey Readg. ye. Service over Miss Custis £2.6.3.' (*Ledger B.*)

30. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney Dind and lodgd here, as did Doctr. Craik and another Person with him.

[JULY]

Where, how, or with [whom] my time is Spent.

1*st.* Doctr. Craik and his Companion went away before Breakfast, and Doctr. Rumney after Dinner. Miss Molly Manley came in the afternoon and stayd all Night. Rid with Mrs. Washington to the Ferry Plantn.

2. At home all day alone.

3. Rid into the Neck and by Muddy hole. Miss Moly Manley went home in the Afternoon.

4. At home all day. Mrs. Peake and her daughter dind here.

5. Rid with Mrs. Washington to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill Plantations.

6. At home all day. Mr. Peake dined here.

7. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill. Mrs. Barnes and Molly McCarty came.

8. At home all day. Colo. Fairfax and Mrs. Fairfax came in the aftern. to take leave of us [1] and returnd again. Dr. Craik also came and stayd all Night.

9. Dr. Craik went away in the Morning Early, Miss Molly McCarty in the Afternoon. Mrs. Washington and

[1] Colonel George William Fairfax. He had inherited some property in England and was leaving to look after it. He did not return to America.

self went to Belvoir to see them take Shipping. Mr. Robt. Adams and Mr. Mattw. Campbell dined here.

10. Mr. Calvert, his Lady and two Daughters, and Mr. Geo. Digges and Sisters, Nancy and Jenny, came over early in the Morning, and stayd all day.

11. Old Mr. Digges[1] came over in the Forenoon; also Mr. Willis and Polly Brazier. Willis returnd in the afternoon.

12. Mr. Digges's and Miss Digges; as also Mr. and Mrs. Calvert went this forenoon — the two Miss Calverts rem[ainin]g.

13. At home all day alone.

14. Rid with the two Miss Calverts and Mrs. Washington to the New Church at Pohick.

15. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill Plantations.

16. At home all day. Mr. Tilghman came.

17. Went down to Colo. Fairfax's White House to haul the Sein, returnd to Dinner.

18. Mr. Tilghman returnd to Alexa. Miss Calvert and Mrs. Washington and self went to Pohick Church. In the Afternoon Mr. B. Fairfax came.

19. Mrs. Washington and the two Miss Calverts went to Alexa.

20. I went up to Alexandria and returnd in the Eveng.

[1] William Digges, of 'Warburton.'

21. Rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole Plantation.

22. Rid to the Meadow at the Mill, to the Mill, and Ferry Plantations. Mrs. Barnes went away yesterday Bag and Baggage.

23. At home all day.

24. Mr. Calvert came here to Breakfast, after wch. Mrs. Washington, the two Miss Calverts, and Myself went over with him to Mr. Digges and dind. Nelly Calvert returnd with Mrs. Washington and myself in ye. afternoon. Doctr. Rumney came here in the Eveng.

25. Went up to Alexandria Church and returnd to Dinner.

26. At home all day.

27. Ditto — Ditto.

28. Ditto. Ditto. Mr. Tilghman came here in the forenoon, as did Miss Sally Carlyle and Sister.

29. Colo. Carlyle and Son, and Mr. Piper dind here, and went away again in the Afternoon with his daughters.

30. Mr. Tilghman returnd home. Mrs. Washington, Miss Nelly Calvert, and myself went to Mount Airy[1] (Mr. Calvert's) to Dinner.

31. At Mount Airy all day.

[1] Prince George's County, near Marlboro.

[AUGUST]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* At Mr. Calvert's all day.

2. Dined at Mr. Igns. Digges's and returnd to Mr. Calvert's in the afternoon.

3. Dined at Mr. Willm. Digges's and got home in the afternoon.

4. At home all day. Captn. Posey here — he came on Sunday last.

5. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, Mill and Ferry Plantations.

6. At home all day. Captn. Posey went to Captn. McCarty's.

7. At home all day, alone.

8. Went up to Alexa. Church [1] and returnd to Dinner. Captn. Posey and Son Price here, the last of whom went away after Dinner.

9. Mrs. Brown came here in the afternoon and stayd all Night.

10. Mr. George Digges and Sisters Teresa and Betcy came to Dinnr. and stayd all Night.

11. Mrs. Brown went away after Breakfast.

[1] Christ Church. Washington's pew is still preserved there.

12. Mr. Digges and Sisters went away after Breakfast. I continued at home all day.

13. At home all day. Price Posey came to Dinner; and stayd all Night.

14. Very warm. Rid to an intended meeting of Vestry at the New Church.[1]

15. At home all day — alone.

16. Went up to Alexandria being Court day, returnd in the afternoon Found Majr. Jenifer and Colo. Mason here.

17. At home all day — the above Gentlemen remaining here.

18. After breakfast Colo. Mason and the Major left this. I continued at home all day. Mr. Craven Peyton[2] came in the afternoon and stayd all Night.

19. Mr. Peyton went away after Breakfast. I continued at home all day.

20. Rid with Mrs. Washington to Muddy hole, Mill Plantn. and Mill before Dinner; at home afterwards alone.

21. At home all day. In the afternoon a Mr. Lambkin came and stayd all Night.

22. Went up to Church at Alexandria and returnd to Dinner. Found Doctr. Craik here, who stayd all Night.

[1] Pohick Church.

[2] Craven Peyton, of Loudoun (will 1781), was the son of Valentine Peyton (1688–1751), of Prince William, and an older brother of Francis Peyton, with whom Washington spent the night of November 20, 1774.

23. At home all day. In the afternoon came David Allan, and James Whitelaw, two Scotchmen empowered by a Number of Familys about Glasgow to look out Land for two hundred Familys, who had a Mind to settle in America.

24. The above person's prosecuted their journey towards Carolina in pursuit of this Scheme, purposing also to view the Lands on Ohio, and to see Mine [1] there before they returnd with their Report to Scotland. I rid to the Ferry, Doeg Run, and Mill Plantations.

25. At home all day — alone.

26. Went over (to dinner) to Mr. Digges's to meet Govr. Eden, etca.; kept there all Night by Rain.

27. Govr. Eden, Captn. Ellis, Mr. Danl. Dulany and Mr. George Digges, as also Miss Nelly Calvert, Miss Tracy Digges and Mrs. Jenny Digges, came over with me to Dinr., also came Mr. Ben. Dulany and Mr. Tilghman — all of whom stayd all Night.

28. Mr. Tilghman went away after Breakfast, and Mr. Digges and his Sisters in the afternoon.

29. Govr. Eden and the other Gentn. went away after breakfast. I continued at home all day.

30. Rid to the Mill and Mill Plantation, Muddy hole, and into the Neck.

31. At home all day.

[1] 'By Cash sent by Gilbert Simpson to Captn. Crawford to pay ye Assessment of my Land on Youghiogany £11 — 5 — Pensa.' (*Ledger B.*)

[SEPTEMBER]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. Went with Mrs. Washington and Nelly Calvert to Mr. Digges's. Din'd and returnd in the afternn.

2. Rid to Belvoir, Mill, and Mill Plantation. Found Mr. Magowan here upon my return.

3. At home all day.

4. Went with Mr. Magowan, etca. to the Barbicue at Accatinck.

5. Went up with him and Miss Nelly Calvert to Alexa. Church. Returnd to Dinner.

6. At home all day. Mr. Wilper came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

7. At home all day — alone except Mr. Magowan and Nelly Calvert.

8. Mrs. Craig,[1] Mrs. McCarty, Mrs. Chichester[2] and Miss Nancy McCarty came here to Dinner and stayd all Night.

9. The Company that came Yesterday went away after breakfast, except Nancy McCarty. Mrs. Stewart of Annaps. and her son and daughter, as also Mr. Geo. Digges, and his Sisters Teresa and Nancy, came to Dinnr. and returnd. Mr. B. Brown also came to Dinr. and stayd ye Night.

[1] Wife of the Reverend James Craig, Fauquier County. (*Toner.*)
[2] Ann, wife of Richard Chichester.

10. Mr. Brown, as also Mr. Magowan went away after Breakfast. I continued at home all day.

11. At home all day alone.

12. Govr. Eden, Captn. Ellis, Mr. Dulany, Mr. Lee [1] and Mr. Fendal [2] came to Dinner and stayd all Night, as did Mr. F. Willis, Junr.

13. All the Gentlemen, except Mr. Fendal and Mr. Lee, went away after breakfast. Mr. Herbert and Mr. Miller came to Dinner and stayd all Night. In the Evening Mr. Tilghman also came.

14. All the Gentlemen went away after breakfast.

15. I rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill Plantations.

16. Rid into the Neck to the Plantations there. In the aftern. Mr. Robt. Harrison came here.

17. At home all day. In the Afternoon Mr. Harrison [3] went away.

18. Went to a Barbicue of my own giving at Accatinck. Mr. Robt. Alexander and his Bror. George came home with me.

19. The two Mr. Alexanders went away after breakfast. My Brother Sam, his Wife and two children, came to Dinner.

[1] Thomas Sim Lee (1745–1819) Governor of Maryland in 1779, and again in 1792; also delegate to the Continental Congress, 1783–84.

[2] Benjamin Fendall, of Maryland.

[3] 'By Mr. Robt. Harrison for Sundy. Opnn. £5.' (*Ledger B.*)

20. I went up to Court, and returnd in the afternoon. Colo. Mason and Mr. Fendal came with me.

21. Colo. Mason and Mr. Fendal went away after Breakfast. I contind. at home all day. Mr. Robt. Hooe [1] dind and lodgd here.

22. My Brother and myself rid to my Mill and returnd to Dinner.

23. At home all day.

24. Ditto — Ditto.

25. Still at home all day writing.

26. I set of for Annapolis Races. Dined at Rollin's [2] and got into Annapolis between five and six Oclock. Spent the Evening and lodged at the Governor's.

27. Dined at the Govr's and went to the Play in the Evening.

28. Again Dined at the Govr's. and went to the Play and Ball in the Evening.

29. Dined at Mr. Sprig's and went to the Play in the Evening.

30. Dined at Mr. Ridout's and spent the afternoon and Evening at Mr. Jenifer's.

[1] Robert Hooe, who kept the ancient ferry, established by Rice Hooe in 1708, across the Potomac in Stafford County, came to Mount Vernon to bargain for Washington's batteau. He purchased it and paid for it, £12. on October 14th.

[2] Bladensburg (?).

[OCTOBER]

Where, how or with whom my time is Spent.

1. Still at Annapolis. Dined with Mr. Ogle.[1] Spent the Evening at the Governor's.

2. Set of on my return home.[2] Dined at Marlborough and lodged at home, Mr. Custis coming with me.

3. At home all day, alone.

4. At home all day. Mr. Thos Triplet came here.

5. Went a hunting in the Neck with Mr. Custis and Lund Washington. Found a Fox and after runng. it two hours and half lost it.

6. At home all day.

7. At home all day. In the afternoon, Mr. Richd. Thompson came and stayed all Night.

8. I continued at home all day. After Breakfast Mr. Thompson went away.

9. At home all day. Mr. Tilghman and Mr. [Herbert?] came here and stayd all Night.

10. Mr. Herbert went away before Breakfast. Mr. Tilghman went with Mrs. Washington and I to Pohick Church and returnd with us.

[1] Benjamin Ogle (1746–1808), of Prince George's County, Maryland. He was Governor of Maryland, 1798–1801.

[2] 'By Travellg. Exps. to and from the Annapolis Races £4.16.10. By Sundry Play Tickets £3.6. By a Ticket to the Ball 6*s*. By Cards & Racing £3.16. By Servants £1.15.3'; equals £14.0.1. 'By Cash pd. for Mr. Custis's Exps. there £3.0.0.' (*Ledger B.*)

11. Mr. Tilghman went away after Breakfast. I rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, Mill and Mill Q[uarte]r and Ferry.

12. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Bell[1] of Maryland came and stayd all Night.

13. Mr. Beal went away after Breakfast. I continued at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Willis and my Brother Charles came, as also Mr. Baker, Surgeon Dentist.[2]

14. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Harrison the Lawyer and Mr. Harrison[3] the Merchant came.

15. Mr. Richd. Harrison went away before Breakfast. The others continued all day. — At home.

16. Mr. Robt. Harrison and Mr. Baker both went away after Breakfast. I remaind at home all day. Captn. Bronaugh[4] Dined here, as also did Mrs. Blackburn and Mrs. Brown.

17. At home all day — Captn. Conway[5] Breakfasting here from the Madeiras. Mr. Willis and my Brother went up to Church.

18. At home again the whole day. Mr. Willis and my Bror. go[in]g up to Court and returng. at Night.

[1] Beall (?).

[2] October 15. 'By Mr. Baker Surgeon Dentist £5.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] Richard Harrison, of Alexandria.

[4] Captain William Bronaugh, served under Washington in the French and Indian War; at one time a justice of the peace of Stafford County. Was a cousin of George Mason, of 'Gunston Hall.'

[5] Captain Richard Conway. Washington had shipped flour, casks, and corn to Madeira by him and on this occasion received in return plants, wine, rum, and cash. Conway later settled in Alexandria.

19. Mr. Willis and my Brother set of home, as Mrs. Washington, Mr. Custis and myself did for Wmsburg [1] — dining at Colchester and lodging at Colo. Blackburn's.[1a]

20. Dined at Acquia and lodged at Colo. Lewis's in Fredg.[2]

21. Rid to my Plantation at the little Falls.[3] Dind and supd at Colo. Lewis's.

22. Dined at Caroline Ct. House and lodged at Hubbard's.

23. Breakfasted at Todd's Bridge and reachd Colo. Bassett's in the Afternoon.

24. At Colo. Bassett's all [day.]

25. Ditto Ditto.

26. Went to Williamsburg. Dined at the Raleigh, and supped at the Coffee House.

27. Dined at the Govr's. and spent the Evening in my own Room.

28. Dined at the Speaker's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

[1] This Williamsburg trip was a business one. John Parke Custis would soon attain his majority, when his share of the Custis estate, increased by that of his deceased sister Patsy, would come under his control. The trip was partly to show young Custis the extent of his possessions in the vicinity of Williamsburg. The entry in Ledger B, under October 27th, notes a cash fee of one pound to Colonel Edmund Pendleton for 'moving for Settlemt. of my Guardianship acct.' The accounts in Ledger B show that Eleanor Calvert accompanied the party.

[1a] Richard Blackburn, of 'Rippon Lodge,' in Prince William, a short distance below the Occoquan Ferry.

[2] October 22. 'By Cash paid my Mother. £15.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] This plantation at the little falls of the Rappahannock belonged to Washington's mother.

29. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening in my Room.

30. Returned to Colo. Bassett's.

31. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

[NOVEMBER]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. Went to Williamsburg after Dinner. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

2. Dined at the Attorney's, and spent the Evening in my own Room.

3. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

4. Dined at the Speaker's and spent the Evening at Southall's.

5. Took an Early Dinner and came up to Colo. Bassett's afterwards.

6. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

7. Dined at Mrs. Dangerfield's and returnd to Colo. Bassett's in the afternoon.

8. Went over to see Mr. Black's Land in King and Queen and King William.[1] Dined at Colo. B. Moore's[2] and returnd to Colo. Bassett's in the Evg.

[1] William Black, who owned a plantation called 'Woromonroke,' in King and Queen County. Washington bought this plantation of him December 4th, for John Parke Custis. The price paid was £6375.

[2] Colonel Bernard Moore, of King William County.

9. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

10. Ditto Ditto

11. Went to Westover [1] with Colo. Bassett and Mr. Custis. Dind at New Kent Court House in our way there.

12. Dined at Westover, Riding to Colo. Harrison's [2] Mills in the forenoon.

13. Rid with Colo. Burd [3] to see Shirly.[4] Dined at Berkley [5] and Returnd to Westover at Night.

14. Returnd to Colo. Bassett's to Dinner.

15. Went a Fox hunting. Found but did not kill. Returnd to Dinner.

16. Went with Mrs. Washington and Mr. Custis to Mr. Burbidge's to see Mr. Bat Dandridge.[6] Stayd all Night.

17. After Dinner returnd to Colo. Bassett's.

18. Went to my Plantation in King William, and with Mr. Custis over Black's Land calld Waromonroke.

19. Came to Williamsburg with Colo. Bassett. Spent the Eveng at the Coffee House.

[1] 'Westover,' on the James River; the home of William Byrd.
[2] Benjamin Harrison, the Singer.
[3] Colonel William Byrd.
[4] 'Shirley,' the home of the Carters, on the James River.
[5] 'Berkeley,' the home of the Harrisons, on the James River, in Charles County.
[6] Bartholomew Dandridge, a nephew of Martha Washington. He was one of Washington's secretaries during the Presidency and after. This visit was to arrange with Dandridge to complete the purchase of 'Woromonroke' with Black.

20. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's, and spent the Evening at the Coffee House.

21. Dined at the Speaker's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

22. Dined at Mr. Southall's, and spent the Evening at the Coffee House.

23. Dined with Lord Dunmore at his Farm, and spent the Evening at Anderson's.

24. Dined at the Speaker's and spent the Evening at the Coffee House

25. Dined at Southall's and spent the Evening again at the Coffee House.

26. Dined at Southall's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

27. Dined at Southall's and came up to Colo. Bassett's in the afternoon.

28. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

29. Went to Williamsburg again and Dined at Southall's, spend[in]g the Evening at the Coffee House.

30. Again Dined at Southall's. Spent the Evening at Anderson's.

[DECEMBER]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st*. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

2. Dined at Southall's, and spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

3. Dined at the Treasurer's and Spent the Evening in my own Room.

4. Din'd at Southall's and reachd Colo. Bassett's in the Afternoon.

5. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

6. Set out on my return home.[1] Dined at King Wm. Court Ho. and lodged at Hubbard's.

7. Breakfasted at Caroline Ct. House and reachd Fredg. abt. 4 Oclock. Lodgd at Colo. Lewis's.

8. Breakfasted with my Mother[2] and lodgd at Dumfries.

9. Breakfasted at Dumfries and reachd home to Dinner. Found Doctr. Rumney and Mrs. Barnes here, the former going after Dinner.

10. At home all day alone, Mr. Custis com[in]g in the aftn.[3]

11. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Wm. Brown and his Sister, and my Brothr. John came.

[1] December 4th, Washington entered in his accounts, 'By my Tavern Expences in Williamsburg besides Southalls acct. wch. is lost £3.1.6'; and the next entry is interesting when it is remembered that Nelly Calvert was in Williamsburg: 'By Cash to Mr. Custis at sundry times in Williamsburg £19.12.9.' Washington and young Custis boarded at Charlton's and their joint bill was £10.10.0. Mrs. Charlton's account against Mrs. Washington and Miss Calvert amounted to £17.0.6.

[2] December 8. 'By Cash to my mother in Fredg. £30.'

[3] Evidently returning from escorting Miss Calvert home.

12. At home all day the above Company here. Mrs. Washington and Miss Brown going to Chh. and returng. to Dinner.

13. At home all day — the above Compa. continuing.

14. My Brother, Mr. Brown, and his Sister went away after breakfast.

15. I rid out and joind the Dogs in hunting a Fox, but did not kill it.

16. Rid to the Ferry, and Mill Plantns., as also to the Mill.

17. Rid to Muddy hole and into the Neck. Mr. George Mason Dined here.

18. At home all day alone.

19. At home all day alone. After Dinner Mrs. Barnes went to Mrs. French's.

20. Went up to Alexandria to Court. Returnd in the Eveng.

21. At home all day alone.

22. Went out after Breakfast with the Dogs, dragd a fox an hour or two, but never found [it.] Returnd to Dinner and found Mrs. Slaughter [1] here.

23. At home all day. In the afternoon Doctr. Craik came.

[1] Mrs. Ann Slaughter, of Fairfax County.

24. At home all day. Dr. Craik continuing here.

25. At home all day. After breakfast the Doctr. went off homewards.

26. At home all day. Mr. Ben Dulany, and Mr. Peale dined here.

27. Went out in the Forenoon with the Dogs. Traild a Fox, but did not find [it.] Mr. Cato Moore dined here, and in the afternn. Mr. Geo. Digges and Mr. Custis came.

28. At home all day, Mr. Digges and Custis continuing here.

29. Went out with the Dogs. Found a Fox but did not kill it.

30. Mr. Digges and Mr. Custis went up to Alexa., returng in ye Aftern.

31. Went out with Mr. Digges and Mr. Custis a huntg. Found a Fox but did not kill it.

1774

January 1–December 31

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1774

[JANUARY]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* Fox hunting, with Mr. George Digges, Mr. Robt. Alexr. and Peake, who all dind here, together with Mr. Jas. Cleveland. In the afternoon all went home but Mr. Alexander.

2. At home all day. Mr. Alexander went home after Breakfast. Mr. Benja. Dulany, Mr. Peale and Mr. Cox came here to Dinner, and stayd all Night.

3. Mr. Dulany and Mr. Cox went away after Breakfast, as also did Mr. Custis to Maryland. Mr. Peale stayd, Captn. Jno. Ashby [1] came in the Afternn. and stayd all night.

4. Captn. Ashby went away, and Mr. Grafton Dulany, Mr. Anthy. Addison, Mr. Saml. Hanson and Mr. Fitzgerald came to dinnr. and stayd all N[ight].

5. All the above Gentlemen stayd here this day and Night also, except Mr. Fitzgerald who went away after Dinner.

6. Mr. Fitzgerald came down again this day in the Afternoon, together with Mr. Herbert and a Mr. Stewart from Philadelphia — the whole staying all Night.

7. Mr. Peale [2] and all the other Gentlemen went away

[1] Brother of Robert Ashby. (*Toner.*)

[2] 'By 10 Guineas paid Mr. Peale for drawing Mr. Custis's Picture £13.2.6.' (*Ledger B.*) June 18th there is an entry, 'By Mr. Peale setting Picture £1.16.0.'

after Breakfast. Mr. Robt. Adam came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

8. Rid with Mr. Adam (who dind here and went away in the afternoon) to my Mill. Mrs. Slaughter and Misrs. [*sic*] Peake also dind here.

9. At home all day. In the Evening Captn. Posey came here.

10. At home all day. A Mr. Young [1] recommended by Mr. Adams, came here and dind — going away afterwards.

11. Rid into the Neck. Captn. Posey still here.

12. Rid to the Mill, Mill Plantn., Dogue Run, and Muddy hole before Dinner. A Rope Maker, one Paterson, Dined here.

13. Dind here no body but Captn. Posey. I walkd out with my Gun. In the afternoon Mr. Geo. Young came here to live.

14. Captain Posey went away to Maryland after Breakfast. Mr. Craven Peyton came to Dinr. and went away afterwards.

15. Went out a hunting, and killd a dog fox wch. was found in Hell hole, after a chase of 3 hours. At home afterwards, alone.

16. At home all day alone.

[1] George Young, who worked at Mount Vernon for a time and was sent by Washington on a business trip to the Youghiogheny.

17. Went up to Alexa. to Court. Dind at Arrel's. Suppd at Mrs. Hawkins[1] and came home afterwards.

18. At home all day. Mr. Custis came from Maryland yesterday and Hanson Posey came this Eveng.

19. Mr. Custis and I went into the Neck a Hunting. Found two Fox's but killd neither. Doctr. Rumney came to Dinr. and stayd all N[igh]t.

20. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney continuing here. Miss Sally Carlyle and her Sister Nancy, and Miss Betcy Ramsay and Miss Jenny Dalton, all came to Dinnr. and stayed all Night.

21. Doctr. Rumney went away after Breakfast. Mr. Custis and I went a hunting in the Neck and after rung. a Fox 3 hours lost it.

22. At home all day. Miss Carlyle and the other Girls went away after Dinner, and Mr. Young to Bladensburg[2] before it.

23. At home all day. In the Evening Mr. Robt. Rutherford came.

24. At home all day. Mrs. Blackburn, her Son, and Miss Ellzey[3] as also Mrs. Brown, came to Dinner and Doctr. Brown in the afternoon, as also did Velene. Crawford.

25. Mrs. Blackburn and those that came with her, as also the Doctr. went away after Dinner.

[1] January 17. 'By Club at Mrs. Hawkins and Fireworks 15*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)

[2] Bladensburg, Prince George's County, Maryland, six miles from Washington City.

[3] Daughter of Thomison Ellzey, of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

26. Mr. Rutherford went away after Breakfast. I contd. at home all day.

27. At home all day alone, except Mr. Valentine Crawford's being here.

28. At home all day. Majr. Chas. Smith and Andw. Wagener came here to dinner. The last went away after it, the other stayd all Night.

29. At home all day. Majr. Smith went away after Breakfast.

30. At home all day. Mr. Bryan Fairfax came to dinner and stay'd all Night.

30. At home all day, Mr. Fairfax continuing here. Mr. Custis returnd to Mr. Calvert's by way of George Town.

FEBRUARY

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day. Mr. Fairfax went away after Breakfast. In and abt. Dinner time Nancy Carlyle came.

2. I still continued home — alone, except Mr. Crawford.

3. Set out after an early Dinner (with Lund Washington) for Mr. Calvert's, to Mr. Custis's Wedding,[1] who was this Eveng. married to Miss Nelly Calvert.

[1] Washington disapproved of this marriage because of the inexperience and youthful instability of his stepson. He advised postponement; and when this was unheeded, he seemed to have lost interest in the matter. The only reference he made to it later appears in his letter to Colonel Burwell Bassett, of February 12, 1774: 'As I presume my Wife has informed Mrs. Bassett of Jack's marriage and all the other little occurences she can think of, I shall only request you to make my affecte. Compliments, etc.'

4. At Mr. Calvert's all day, with much other company.

5. Returnd home to a late Dinner. Found Mr. Gist [1] here, who came the day I left home. Also found Doctr. Rumney and Val Crawford here.

6. At home all day. Mr. Gist went away after Breakfast.

7. Went with Mrs. Washington and Nancy Carlyle by the New Church [2] to Captn. McCarty's. Dind there and came home in the Afternoon. Doctr. Rumney went away after Breakfast.

8. Rid into the Neck to the Plantations there, and to the fishing Landing, where my Carpenters were at work. Came home by Muddy hole. Mrs. Slaughter dind here and went away afterwards.

9. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Matthew Campbell and Captn. Crawford came.

10. At home all day. After Breakfast Mr. Campbell went away, and in the Afternoon Mr. Hugh Stephenson [3] came.

11. At home all day. Mr. Thos. Rutherford [4] came here to dinner and Mr. Resin Bell [5] in the afternn.

12. After dinner, the two Crawfords and Mr. Stephenson

[1] Thomas Gist, son of Christopher Gist, the Indian Agent.

[2] Pohick.

[3] Hugh Stephenson was captain of a Virginia rifle company at the outbreak of the Revolution, and, later, colonel of a Maryland and Virginia rifle regiment.

[4] Thomas Rutherford, High Sheriff of Frederick County in 1743–44.

[5] Rezin Beall, was brigadier-general of the Maryland Division of the Flying Camp, in the Revolutionary War.

set out for Wms.burg, and Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Beale for their respective homes.

13. At home all day alone.

14. Again at home all day. To Dinner came Master Geo. Carlyle, who went away afterwards with his Sister Nancy. In the afternoon Captn. Bullet and his Brother Cuthbert [1] came and Stayed all Night.

15. These Gentlemen went away. I went to a vestry at the New Church and returnd in the Aftern.

16. At home all day alone — being engaged in writing.

17. Went a Hunting. Found a dog fox in this Neck and killed him, after treeing 3 times and running about 2 hours.

18. At home all day alone writing. In ye Aftn. Mr. Jas. Lawson came.

19. Went a Hunting in the Neck. See three Foxes, but killd none. Mr. Lawson went away after Breakfast.

20. At home all day. Mr. Willm. Brent [2] and Mr. Notley Rozer [3] came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

21. A Wm. Stevens [4] came here in the Evening, and stayd all Night. I continued at home all day.

22. At home all day. Stevens went away Early. Miss

[1] Thomas and Cuthbert Bullet, of Prince William County. Cuthbert was agent for Lord Dunmore's western lands.

[2] William Brent, of Maryland. He owned land near Aquia Creek, Virginia.

[3] Notley Rozier, of Prince George's County, Maryland.

[4] Washington employed Stevens to improve his Ohio lands.

Digges, Miss Betcy Digges, and Mrs. Slaughter Dind here and went away afterwards.

23. At home all day. Mr. Robt. Adam came to dinner, and Mr. B. Fairfax and Captn. Crawford came after Dinner — the whole staying all Night.

24. Went a huntg. in the Morning and from thence to the vestry — Mr. Adam going away. Upon my return found Doctr. Craik, Val Crawford and Mr. Thos. Gist.

25. At home all day. Mr. Fairfax and Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast. Hancock Lee [1] came to Dinr. and went away after it.

26. At home all day. Captn. Crawford and Mr. Gist went away after Breakfast.

27. At home all day alone.

28. Mr. Tayler, Mr. Wagener and one Mordaica Red came to Breakfast and went away afterwards.

[MARCH]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. Mr. and Mrs. Calvert, and Miss Calvert, with Mr. Custis and his wife, and Mr. George Digges, came to Dinner.

2. Walkd with Mr. Calvert, &ca., to my Mill and Back, Mr. Muir, Mr. Piper, and Mr. Adams came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

3. Miss Carlyle, Miss [Betsy] Ramsay, Mr. Dulany,

[1] Hancock Lee, surveyor in the employ of the Ohio Company.

Doctr. Rumney, and Messrs. Herbert, Brown, Fitzgerald, Harrison, Campbell, and Alexr. Steward, came to Dinner and stayd all Night — as did Vale. Crawford. Piper, Adams and Muir went away after Dinner.

4. All except Mr. Calvert's Family, Mr. Digges, Dulany and Doctr. Rumney, went away after Dinner.

5. Mr. Dulany and Doctr. Rumney went away after Dinner.

6. The rest of the Company remaining.

7. Mr. Calvert, Lady and daughter, with Mr. Geo. Digges, went away after breakfast.

8. I set of for Berkley, etca., and to meet Mr. James Mercer at Bull run,[1] on a divn. of the Land between him and his Brothers. Dined at Moss's[2] and lodgd at Leesburg.

9. Dined at Snickers's and lodgd at Fairfield.[3]

10. Went by my Tenants on Bullskin to my Brother's at Harewood.[4]

11. At Harewood all day.

12. Returnd by my Tenants on Bullskin to Fairfield.

13. At Fairfield all day with others.

[1] Bull Run, the dividing line of what is now Prince William and Fairfax Counties. The same stream on which the first important battle of the Civil War took place.

[2] Moss's, in Fairfax County, near Leesburg.

[3] In Berkeley County.

[4] Samuel Washington's estate in Berkeley was called 'Harewood.'

14. Set of for my Tenants in Fauquier, and lodged at one Lewis Lemart's, a Tenant's.

15. At Lewis Lemart's till the Afternoon, with my Tenants and making Leases.
Rid to Cap. Ashby's in the afternoon.

16. Viewed my Land on Chattin's Run [1] and Goose Creek and came to Mr. Thos. West's [2] to Dinner to meet Mr. Mercer.

17. Looking over and running some Lines of Mercer's Bullrun Tract. Returnd and lodgd at West's again.

18. On the same business again. Returnd to Mr. West's at Night.

19. At West's (my Horses being lost) till one Oclock; then (after they were found) rid down to Mr. Edd. Payne's and lodgd there.[3]

20. Got home to Breakfast.

21. At home all day, alone.

22. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Thos. Addison [4] came and stayed all Night — also Mrs. Barnes.

23. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney came to Dinner.

[1] A branch of Goose Creek.
[2] West's Ordinary. Thomas West was a son of Charles.
[3] Edward Payne, near Payne's Church. The accounts show: 'By Travelling Exps. up to & down from Berkeley &ca. Including £2.0.5 Tavn. Exps. at Thos. Wests & 12s. pd. for takg. up my Horses wch. were lost there. £4.15.7.'
[4] Toner thinks, of Prince George's County, Maryland.

24. At home all day, Doctr. Rumney continuing here — as did Mr. Valentine Crawford who came last Night.

25. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney went away after Dinner.

26. At home all day. Doctr. Craik came here to Dinner and stayd all Night.

27. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner.

28. Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast. I went up to Alexandria to the Sale of the *Anne & Elizabeth*[1] which I bought myself at the price of £175. Returnd home in the afternoon.

29. At home all day alone.

30. Walk in the Evening over my three Plantations in the Neck.

31. Mr. George Johnston dind here. I rid as [far] as the Gum sp[rin]g. with my People and Vale. Crawford, who were moving to the Ohio.[2]

[1] Anne and Elizabeth, a brigantine to take the place of the schooner built at Mount Vernon, which had been sold. The name Anne and Elizabeth was changed to Farmer. Curiously enough, Washington does not enter this £175 in his accounts.

[2] The servants who were going with Valentine Crawford to Washington's lands on the Ohio. Crawford had secured these servants in Baltimore and, later, had trouble with some and discharged them. 'March. By Vale. Crawford's Exps. to Baltimore after Servants £6.6.10. Pena. = £5.1.6. By Ditto towards conductg. my Business on the Ohio, £30.' (*Ledger B.*)

[APRIL]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day. Price Posey dined here.

2. At home all day. Mr. Robt. Adam dined here.

3. At home all day. Mr. Hooe [1] and Mr. Robt. Harrison dined and lodged here.

4. The above Gentlemen went away early in the morning, and Mrs. Washington and myself went and dined at Mr. Digges's, with Mr. and Mrs. Custis, on their way to Mr. Calvert's.

5. Tuesday, at home all day. Captn. Posey came in the Evening.

6. At home all day.

7. At home all day. Captn. Posey went away after Dinner, as Mrs. Barnes also did to her own habitation.

8. At home all day alone.

9. At home all day. Colo. Bassett, Mrs. Bassett, with Billy [2] and Fanny,[3] came here to Dinner. Mr. Robt. Adam also dind here.

10. Went with Colo. Bassett, etca. to Pohick Church. Returnd to Dinner. Doctr. Brown dined here.

[1] Robert Townsend Hooe, merchant of Alexandria and mayor of the town in 1780.

[2] William, son of Colonel Burwell Bassett.

[3] Frances (Fanny), daughter of Colonel Bassett, married George Augustine Washington, the son of Charles, and nephew of the General. After her husband's death, she married Tobias Lear.

11. At home all day. Mr. Milner [1] and a Mr. Marle dined here.

12. Rid with Colo. Bassett, etca., to the Fishing Landing at Posey's.

13. Rowed to the different Fishing Landings as high as Broad Creek — met [and] brot. Mr. Custis and his wife home with us.

14. Went a hunting. Killd a bitch Fox, with three young ones almost hair'd. Doctr. Rumney dind here and stayed all Night.

15. Rid with Mrs. Bassett, etca., to the fishing Landing at Johnson's. Mr. Digges and his three daughters, Teresa, Betcy, and Jenny, dind here. Doctr. Rumney went away.

16. Rid with Mrs. Bassett, etca., to the Mill and Fishing Landing at Posey's. Colo. Richd. Lee dind and Lodgd.

17. Attempted to go to Alex. Church, but broke the Pole of the Chariot and returnd. Colo. Lee went away after Breakfast.

18. Went with Colo. Bassett, etca., to Alexa. Returnd in the Afternoon. Mr. Magowan came home with us.

19. Went with Colo. Bassett, Mrs. Bassett, etca., to Mr. Digges's and dined.

20. Rid to the Fishing Landg. at Johnson's. Mr. Her-

[1] William Milnor, merchant of Philadelphia. Washington's ledger of accounts shows a consignment of fish, herring, and shad, packing same and rent of fish house to Milnor and the receipt of certain merchandise in payment thereof; among which was an officer's sash, gorget, epaulette, and drums and colors for the Fairfax County and Prince William Militia.

bert and Mr. Stewart came home with us to Dinner. Mrs. Brown dined here, and in the aftern. Colo. Mason, Doctr. Brown,[1] Mr. Jno. Cook and my Brother John came.

21. At home all day. Mr. Herbert, Mr. Stewart, Colo. Mason, and Doctr. Brown and Wife went away before Dinner. Mr. Warnr. Washington and Captn. Nourse[2] came to it.

22. Went with the above Compy. to the Fishing Landing at Johnson's.

23. All the foregoing Company except Colo. Bassett and Family went away after Breakfast. I rid with him to the Fishy. at Posey's.

24. Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Stewart came here to Dinner. The first stayed all Night, the other returnd.

25. Colo. Bassett and Family went away after Breakfast, and Mr. Tilghman after Dinner. Mr. Adam dined here. Mr. Lanphire[3] came to W[or]k.

26. At home all day alone.

27. Mr. and Mrs. Cox, and Mr. Robt. Adam Dined here. The latter went away afterwards, the other two stayed.

28. At home all day. Mr. Robt. Adam Dined here.

29. At home all day. Mrs. French, Miss Molly Manley,

[1] Dr. William (?) Brown, of Alexandria.
[2] Captain James Nourse, a sea captain.
[3] Going Lanphire, a joiner, tenant of Washington in Fauquier County, who did considerable carpentry work at Mount Vernon.

and Mr. Thos. Addison dind here, and went away afterwards.

30. At home all day alone.

[MAY]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day — alone.

2. Rid in the forenoon with Mrs. Washington to Belvoir.

3. At home all day. Mr. Adam dined and lodged here.

4. At home all day alone.[1]

5. Set off for Mr. Calvert's. Dined and lodged there.

6. After dinner returnd home. Mr. and Mrs. Custis and Miss Calvert came home with us. Found Mr. Tilghman here.

7. Went with the above Company to a Boat Race and Barbicue at Johnson's Ferry. Returnd at Night with Mr. Milner.

8. Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Milner went away after Breakfast. We (that is the rest) went to Pohick Church.

9. At home all day alone.

10. Miss Calvert, Miss [Mrs?] Custis and Mr. Custis went over to Maryland. I contd. at home all day. Majr. Wagener and Mr. Thoms. Triplet dind here.

11. At home all day alone.

[1] May 4. 'By Exps. gettg. my Carriage to Maryld. 18*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)

12. Set of with Mrs. Washington for Williamsburg.[1] Dined at Dumfries and lodgd at Colo. Lewis's in Fredericksburg.[2]

13. At Fredg. all day.[3] Dined at Colo. Lewis's and spent the Evening at Weeden's.

14. Dined at Roys Ordy.[4] and lodgd at Todd's Bridge.

15. Breakfasted at Ruffin's Ferry and dined and lodgd at Colo. Bassett's.

16. Came to Wms.burg, dind at the Governor's and spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

17. Dined at the Speaker's and spent the Evening at Southall's.

18. Dined at the Club at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening at Southall's.[5]

19. Dined and spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

20. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the afternoon at my own lodgings.

[1] In 1774, Washington attended the May session of the Burgesses which lasted twenty-two days; the usual ten days of travel, additional, was charged in his accounts.

[2] 'By Ferriages at Mr. Hunters 5*s.*'; and, May 13, 'By Cash pd. Ditto for a years Ferriage 10*s.*' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] 'By Cash paid my Mother £10.' (*Ledger B.*)

[4] Boswell Roy's, a few miles below Bowling Green. Edmund Pendleton married a daughter of Boswell Roy. (*Toner.*)

[5] James Barret Southall had succeeded Anthony Hay in the ownership of the Raleigh Tavern. May 18. 'By Ditto [Cash paid] for a Sword Knott 4*s.* 6*d.*,' in preparation for the Burgesses' ball; a barber's services were required and hair powder purchased also.

21. Dined at the Speaker's, and went up to Colo. Bassett's in the afternoon.

22. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

23. Came to Williamsburg with Mrs. Washington. Dined at the Attorneys, and spent the Evening there.

24. Dined at the Speaker's and spent the Evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

25. Dined and spent the Eveng. at the Governor's.[1]

26. Rid out with the Govr. to his Farm and Breakfasted with him there.

27. Dined at the Treasurer's and went to the Ball given by the House of Burgesses to Lady Dunmore.[2]

28. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

29. Went to Church in the fore and afternoon. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Eveng. at my Lodgings.

30. Dined at Mrs. Southall's. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

[1] On May 25th, Governor Dunmore dissolved the Burgesses because of their resolutions of sympathy with Massachusetts on account of the Boston Port Bill (May 24) and their appointment of June 1st, the day the Port Bill went into operation, as a day of fasting.

The dissolved Burgesses, however, declined to remain dissolved; they immediately repaired to the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern and entered into an association of non-importation and recommended the holding of an annual Colonial Congress.

[2] May 26. 'By my Subscripn. to ye Burgesses Ball. £1.0.0.' (*Ledger B.*) Lady Dunmore, the wife of the Governor, John Murray, Earl Dunmore, was the daughter of the Earl of Galloway.

31. Dined at Mr. Charlton's and spent the Evening in my Room.[1]

[JUNE]

Where, how, or with whom my time is Spent.

1*st.* Went to Church and fasted all day.[2]

2. Dined at Mr. Charlton's and came up to Colo. Basset's in the afternoon.

3. At Colo. Bassett's all day, in compa. with Mr. Dandridge,[3] etca.

4. Went up by Water with Mr. and Mrs. Bassett, Mrs. Dandridge and Mrs. Washington, to the Ld. bo't of Black in King and Queen. Returnd to Colo. Bassett's to Dinr.

5. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

6. Set [of] with him for Williamsburg. Dined at Richd. Charlton's and Supped at Anderson's.

7. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening at the Raleigh.

8. Dined at the Raleigh, and spent the Evening at Anderson's.

[1] On May 29th, advices from Boston, Philadelphia, and Maryland arrived at Williamsburg. These were of so alarming a character that Peyton Randolph and others called together such of the Burgesses as were still in town. Twenty-five of them were gathered together, one of whom was Washington, and, as a result of their deliberations, a call was issued, May 31, for a 'Convention' (the Burgesses having no authority to act as such in the face of Dunmore's dissolution of the House) of all the Burgesses to meet August 1st next. One of the printed circulars of this call is in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress.

[2] In conformity with the vote of the Burgesses to fast in sympathy with Massachusetts on the day the Boston Port Bill went into operation.

[3] Bartholomew Dandridge.

9. Dined at the Raleigh and spent the Evening there also.

10. Dined at the Raleigh and went to the Fireworks.[1]

11. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and went up to Colo. Bassett's in the Afternoon.

12. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

13. Returnd with him to Willg. Dined at the Raleigh and spent the Evening at Anderson's.

14. Dined with the Council at Southall's, and spent the Evening at Anderson's.

15. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening at the Capitol at a Meeting of the Society for promoting useful Kn[owledge].[2]

16. Dined at the Governor's and spent the Evening at Anderson's.

17. Dined at Anderson's and spent the Evening there.

18. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and came up to Colo. Bassett's in the afternoon.[3]

19. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

[1] June 10. 'By Cash paid for seeing ye. Fireworks 3*s*. 9*d*.' (*Ledger B*.) This day was the anniversary of the burning of the Gaspée in Rhode Island in 1772, and the fireworks may have been a celebration of that feat, which made a profound impression in Virginia.

[2] On November 3, 1773, Washington subscribed ten shillings to this society and on this date, June 15, 1774, he subscribed £1.0.0. This was the second meeting of the Society. John Page was then its president and James Madison one of its secretaries.

[3] 'By Mr. Charltons Acct. for Board &ca. £14.17.0. By Mrs. Charltons Acct. agt. Mrs. Washington £5.5.' (*Ledger B*.)

20. Set of from thence on my return home. Dind at Todd's bridge and lodged at Hubbard's.

21. Breakfasted at the Bolling green,[1] Dind and lodged at Colo. Lewis's in Fredericksburg.

22. Reachd home to a late Dinner after Breakfasting at Aquia.[2]

23. At home all day — alone.

24. Rid up to Alexandria and returnd in the afternoon.

25. At home all day — alone.

26. Went up to Church at Alexr. Returnd to Dinner.

27. At home all day. Mr. Custis came here to dinner.

28. I rid to the Plantation's in the Neck and to the Muddy hole. Found Doctr. Rumney here upon my return, who stayed all Night.

29. At home all day alone.

30. At home all day alone, except Mr. Peake coming here in the afternoon.

[JULY]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid to Dogue Run, Mill, Mill Plantation and the Ferry at Posey's, before Dinner.

[1] June 21. 'By Expences at Roys Ordy. 7*s.* 6*d.* (*Ledger B.*)

[2] 'By Expences at Tylers 7*s.* 6*d.*' (*Ledger B.*) Thomas G. Tyler's Ordinary at Aquia.

2. At home all day. Mr. Wm. Waite[1] dind here.

3. Went to Pohick Church and returnd home to Dinner.

4. At home all day. Mr. and Mrs. Custis came here from Maryland.

5. Went up to Alexandria to a Meeting of the Inhabitts. of this County.[2] Dined at Arrell's and lodgd at my own House.

6. Dined at Doctr. Brown's and returnd home in the Eveng.

7. At home all day.

8. At home all day alone.

9. At home all day — Ditto.

10. At home all day — Ditto.

11. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney came here, dined and stayed all Night.

12. Rid to Muddy hole, Dogue Run, and Mill Plantation. Mr. Digges, Doctr. Digges and Miss Tracy Dind and went away in the afternoon, as did Doctr. Rumney also.

13. At home all day alone.

14. Went up to Alexandria to the Election where I was

[1] William Waite, a stonemason.

[2] The first Fairfax County meeting, at which George Washington, George Mason, and others were appointed a committee to draw up resolutions respecting the state of affairs.

chosen, together with Majr. Broadwater,[1] Burgess. Staid all Night to a Ball.

15. Return'd home to a late Dinner.

16. At home all day — alone.

17. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner. Colo. Mason came in the afternoon and stayed all Night.[2]

18. Went up to Alexandria to a Meeting of the County.[3] Returnd in the Evening — Mr. Magowan with me.

19. At home all day.

20. Rid into the Neck. Mr. Piper, Mr. Ross and Mr. Gibson[4] Dind and Lodgd here.

21. The Gentlemen who came yesterday went away after Breakfast. I contd. at home all day.

22. Mr. Magowan went away. I continued at home all day.

23. At home all day. Mr. Thoms. Johnson[5] and Mr.

[1] Major Charles Broadwater. Washington enters up the expense of this election at cakes 13*s.* 3*d.* and general expenses £3.1.6.

[2] The Fairfax Resolves were here moulded into shape.

[3] The Fairfax Resolves were twenty-four in number. Washington was chairman of the meeting and Robert Harrison, clerk. The Resolves, credited to George Mason, exist in contemporary manuscript form in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress, together with a brief of Resolves 13 to 24 inclusive, in Washington's handwriting. Washington and Major Broadwater were directed by this meeting to present the Resolves to the Virginia Convention, called to assemble in Williamsburg, August 1st.

[4] John Gibson, merchant of Colchester.

[5] Thomas Johnson (1732–1819), of Maryland. A member of the Second Continental Congress. Nominated Washington to command of the Continental Armies. First Governor of Maryland under the new Constitution, 1777, and

Paca[1] of Anna[poli]s and Mr. Digges and his Son George, Dined here and went away afterwards.

24. Went up to Church at Alexandria. Returnd to Dinner.

25. At home all day — alone.

26. Mr. Peake dind here. I continued at home.

27. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney Dined and lodged here.

28. Set of with Mr. Custis for Williamsburg. Dined at Tyler's on Aquia, and lodged at Colo. Lewis's.[2]

29. Set out from Fredericksburg late. Dined at Roy's and lodged at Hubbard's.

30. Breakfasted at King Wm. Court Ho. Dined at Ruffin's and reachd Colo. Bassett's.

31. At Colo. Bassett's all day.

[AUGUST]

Where, how, or with who, my time is Spent.

1*st*. Went from Colo. Bassett's to Williamsburg to the Meeting of the Convention.[3] Dined at Mrs. Campbell's. Spent the Evening in my Lodgings.

served through 1778 and 1779. He was also one of the Commissioners of the City of Washington.

[1] William Paca (1740–99), of Maryland. A Signer of the Declaration of Independence and a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1779. Married Mary, daughter of Samual Chew, of Ann Arundel County, Maryland.

[2] July 28. 'By Ferriages at Hunters 11*s*.' (*Ledger B*.)

[3] The Convention called by the circular of May 31st, issued by the members of the House of Burgesses. (See note to May 31st, *ante*.) Washington was

2. At the Convention. Dined at the Treasurer's.[1] At my Lodgings in the Evening.

3. Dined at the Speaker's[2] and spent the Evening at my own Lodgings.

4. Dined at the Attorney's[3] and spent the Evening at my own Lodgings.

5. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's[4] and spent the Evening at my own Lodgings.

6. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening at my own Lodgings.[5]

7. Left Williamsburg abt. 9 Oclock and got up to Colo. Bassett's to Dinner, where I stayd the remaining part of the Day and Night.

8. Left Colo. Bassett's. Visited my own Plantn. in King Wm. and Mr. Custis's in King and Queen. Dind at King Wm. Ct. House and lodged at Todd's Bridge.

9. Breakfasted at Roy's Ord'y. Dined and lodged at Colo. Lewis's in Fredericksburg.[6]

elected, along with Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, as delegates from Virginia to the First Continental Congress, called to convene in September, 1774, in Philadelphia.

[1] Robert Carter Nicholas. [2] Peyton Randolph. [3] John Randolph.

[4] Mrs. Elizabeth Dawson, widow of Commissary William Dawson.

[5] In Ledger B, among the account entries for August 6th are: 'By Mr. Jeffersons Bill of Rights *3s 9d*'; and, 'By the Printers for the Association Papers *12s*.' Jefferson's Bill of Rights was the pamphlet, printed in Williamsburg: 'A Summary View of the Rights of British America by a Native and Member of the House of Burgesses.' The Association was the printed copy of the articles entered into by the Convention during its six-day session from August 1st to 6th. August 6. 'To my proportion of the Sum voted in Convention for defraying the Exps. of the delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia £90.13.9.'

[6] 'By Cash paid my Mother £20.' (*Ledger B.*)

10. Breakfasted at Tyler's on Acquia. Dined at home.[1]

11. At home all day. Miss Calvert[2] here.

12. At home all day. Miss Carlyle[3] and her Sister Nancy came here. Mr. Willis[4] also dind here, and went away afterwds.

13. I rid to the Neck Plantation[5] and came home by Muddy hole.

14. Went to Pohick Church with Mr. Custis. Found Messrs. Carlyle, Dalton, Ramsay, Adam, and Doctr. Rumney here upon my return. Doctr. Craik also came in the afternoon.

15. Went in Compa. with the aforementd. Gentlemen to Colo. Fairfax's Sale.[6] Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Dalton, and Doctr. Craik came home with me, the Rest did not. Miss Carlyle and her Sister went away.

16. Ramsay, Dalton, and the Doctr. went away after Breakfast.

17. I rid to Doeg Run, Muddy hole, Mill, and Posey's Plantations.

[1] 'By Ferriages at Hunters 4*s*. 3*d*. By Expences at Tylers 8*s*.' (*Ledger B.*)
[2] Elizabeth, daughter of Benedict Calvert. (*Toner.*)
[3] Sarah, or Sally Carlyle, daughter of Colonel John Carlyle.
[4] Francis Willis, Jr., of Fredericksburg.
[5] Above Little Hunting Creek, afterwards included in the River Farms.
[6] 'To Ditto [Cash] recd. from Doctr. Craik for a Wilton Carpet bot. at Colo. Fairfax's Sale £8.10.0.' 'By Cash pd. Colo. Thos. Ludwell for a Card Table wch. he bot. at Colo. Fairfax's Sale & let me have £4.0.0.' (*Ledger B.*) Washington's accounts at this point give us a rare glimpse of the sincere sentiment that was so much a part of him. He paid William Copan for putting his (Washington's) 'cypher' on his pew at Pohick Church, and, although he knew Colonel George William Fairfax would probably never return to America, he paid Copan to put the Fairfax cipher on the Fairfax pew.

18. Rid to the Plantation's in the Neck. Found Mr. Fitzhugh[1] here upon my Return.

19. Mr. Fitzhugh went away after breakfast.

20. Rid with Mrs. Washn. to Alexa. and returnd to Dinner.

21. At home all day. Mr. Moylan,[2] Doctr. Craik, and Mr. Fitzgerald[3] Dind here. The latter went away.

22. Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast, and Mr. Moyland after Dinner, havg. Rid with [him] to show Belvoir.[4]

23–24. At home all day alone.

25. Ditto. Mrs. Slaughter[5] dind here.

26. Ditto all day, alone.

27. Went to the Barbacue at Accatinck.

28. Went to Pohick Church. Mess. Stuart, Herbert, Mease, Doctr. Jenifer,[6] Mr. Stone[7] and Mr. Digges, dind here. The first three stayed all Night.

29. The above Gentn. went away after Breakfast.

[1] John or William Fitzhugh.
[2] Stephen (?) Moylan, of Philadelphia.
[3] John Fitzgerald, of Alexandria.
[4] Colonel Fairfax had left 'Belvoir' in Washington's hands to sell. No buyer appeared and, later, the place caught fire and was completely destroyed.
[5] Mrs. Anne Slaughter, of Fairfax.
[6] Dr. Daniel Jenifer (1756–1809), of Kent County, Maryland. Surgeon in the Continental Hospital during the Revolution. He married Sarah, daughter of Dr. James Craik.
[7] Thomas Stone (1743–87), of Maryland. Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

30. Colo. Pendleton,[1] Mr. Henry,[2] Colo. Mason and Mr. Thos. Triplet came in the Eveng. and stayd all Night.

31. All the above Gentlemen dind here, after which, with Colo. Pendleton and Mr. Henry, I set out on my journey for Phila. and reachd uppr. Marlbro.[3]

[SEPTEMBER]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. Breakfasted at Queen Anne.[4] Dined in Annapolis, and lodged at Rock Hall.

2. Din'd at Rock Hall (waiting for my Horses) and lodgd at New Town [5] on Chester.

3. Breakfasted at Down's.[6] Dind at the Buck Tavern [7] (Carsons) and lodg'd at Newcastle.

4. Breakfasted at Christeen Ferry.[8] Dined at Chester [9] and lodged at Doctr. Shippen's [10] in Phila., after supping at the New Tavern.[11]

[1] Edmund Pendleton (1721–1803), of Virginia. Member of the House of Burgesses and delegate to the Continental Congress and member of the Virginia Committee of Safety, President of the Virginia Court of Appeals in 1779 and 1788, President of the Convention that adopted, for Virginia, the United States Constitution.

[2] Patrick Henry, Jr. (1736–99), of Virginia. Governor of Virginia and delegate to the First Continental Congress.

[3] Prince George's County, Maryland.

[4] A crossroads hamlet in Prince George's County. It has long since disappeared.

[5] Newtown on the Chester River, Eastern Shore of Maryland, is now Chestertown.

[6] William (?) Downs, at Downs' Cross Roads about sixteen miles from Chestertown.

[7] About eighteen miles southwest of Newcastle, Delaware.

[8] Christiana Ferry, now Wilmington, Delaware.

[9] Pennsylvania, fifteen miles below Philadelphia, on the Delaware River.

[10] Dr. William Shippen (1736–1808). Delivered first lectures on anatomy in America. Director General of Military Hospitals in the Continental Army, 1776–81.

[11] The New Tavern, generally known as the 'City Tavern,' was on the west

5. Breakfasted and Dined at Docr. Shippen's. Spent the Eveng. at Tavern.[1]

6. Dined at the New Tavern, after being in Congress all day.[2]

7. Dined at Mr. Pleasant's [3] and spent the Evening in a Club at the New Tavern.

8. Dined at Mr. Andw. Allen's [4] and spent the Evening in my own Lodgings.[5]

9. Dined at Mr. Tilghman's [6] and spent the Evening at home (at my own Lodgs.)

10. Dined at Mr. Richd. Penn's.[7]

11. Dined at Mr. Griffen's.

side of South Second Street, above Walnut. Washington's memorandum of expenses shows an indebtedness to a Mr. Smith of this tavern.

[1] The First Continental Congress assembled in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Washington was present, though he does not note the fact in this diary. Peyton Randolph was unanimously elected President. The first day's proceedings were confined to reading the credentials of the various delegates.

[2] 'To Ditto [Cash recd.] of the Treasurer, by Peyton Randolph Esqr. on acct of my Exps. to Phila. — born by the Country £100.' (*Ledger B.*)

[3] Samuel Pleasants.

[4] Andrew Allan, lawyer. Attorney-General of Pennsylvania in 1766. After supporting the measures of the Colonies he finally took the oath of allegiance to the Crown.

[5] While in Philadelphia, attending the sessions of the First Continental Congress, Washington lodged at the house of Edward Fitz-Randolph, the father of the eminent surgeon, Jacob Randolph. Edward joined the Society of Friends and dropped the prefix to his name. He served with credit in the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment during the Revolution and married Juliana Steel in 1779.

[6] James Tilghman, of Maryland. Removed to Philadelphia in 1760 and was, later, appointed Secretary to the Pennsylvania Land Office. He was a member of the Provincial Council in 1767 and suspected of loyalist sympathies during the Revolution.

[7] The then ex-Lieutenant-Governor.

12. Dined at Mr. James Allen's.

13. Dined at Mr. Thos. Mifflin's.[1]

14. Rid over the Province Island [2] and dind at Mr. Wm. Hamilton's.[3]

15. Dined at my Lodgings.

16. Dined at the State House [4] at an Entertainment [5] given by the City to the Members of the Congress.

17. Dined at Mr. Dickerson's about 2 Miles from Town.[6]

18. Dined at Mr. Hill's [7] about 6 Miles from Town.

19. Rid out in the Morning, dined at Mr. Ross's.[8]

[1] Thomas Mifflin (1744–1800), a delegate from Pennsylvania to the First Continental Congress. Major-General and Quartermaster-General during the Revolution. He was involved in the 'Conway Cabal' and was President of the Continental Congress when Washington resigned his commission, at the close of the war.

[2] Later known as 'State Island,' in the Schuylkill River, near its mouth.

[3] A man of wealth, son of the second Andrew Hamilton. He was interested in farming and his estate 'The Woodlands' was kept under high cultivation.

[4] Later known as 'Independence Hall.'

[5] 'On Friday last the Honourable Delegates now met in General Congress were elegantly entertained by the gentlemen of this city. Having met at the City Tavern about 3 o'clock they were conducted from thence to the State House by the Managers of the entertainment where they were received by a very large company composed of the Clergy, such genteel strangers as happened to be in town, and a number of respectable citizens, making in the whole, near 500 —' (*Pennsylvania Gazette.*) Among the toasts given and drunk with applause were toasts to the King and Queen and the Prince of Wales and also one to the Perpetual Union of the Colonies.

[6] John Dickinson (1732–1808). Author of the 'Farmer's Letters'; Pennsylvania delegate to the First Continental Congress; President of Delaware in 1781. He married Mary Morris, of 'Fair Hill,' in the old Northern Liberties, which was his residence when Washington paid him this visit.

[7] Henry (?) Hill. He married a daughter of Samuel Meredith.

[8] John Ross, lawyer and merchant, acted as commercial agent for the Second Continental Congress, in purchasing supplies from Europe. His place, which Washington visited more than once, was called 'The Grange.'

20. Dined with Mr. Fisher,[1] the Mayor.

21. Dined with Mr. James Mease.

22. Dined with Mr. Chew [2] the Chief Justice.

23. Dined with Mr. Joseph Pemberton.[3]

24. Dined with Mr. Thos. Willing [4] and spent the Evening at the City Tavern.

25. Went to the Quaker Meeting [5] in the Forenoon and St. Peter's [6] in the afternoon. Din'd at my Lodgings.

26. Dined at the old Doctr. Shippen's [7] and went to the Hospital.[8]

27. Dined at the Tavern with the Virga. Gentn.,[9] etca.

28. Dined at Mr. Edward Shippen's.[10] Spent the afternn. with the Boston Gentn.[11]

[1] William Fisher, Mayor of Philadelphia, 1772–74.

[2] Benjamin Chew (1722–1810), born in Maryland. Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, 1774. Was of loyalist sympathies and imprisoned by the Colonists. It was his stone house that proved the stumbling-block to the victory of the Continentals at the battle of Germantown.

[3] Joseph Pemberton, a prominent Quaker.

[4] Thomas Willing, lawyer and merchant, member of the firm of Willing & Morris. At one time an Associate Justice of the Provincial Supreme Court.

[5] Probably the Quaker or Friends' Meeting House at the southwest corner of Second and High Streets.

[6] Saint Peter's Episcopal Church, southwest corner of Third and Pine Streets. The Reverend Jacob Duché was at one time its pastor.

[7] Dr. William Shippen, Sr. (1712–1801).

[8] Pennsylvania Hospital, on the square bounded by Eighth and Ninth, Spruce and Pine Streets. It was the first hospital, of any pretensions, in America.

[9] The Virginia delegates to the Congress. (See note to August 1, 1774, *ante*.)

[10] Edward Shippen, Jr. (1729–1806). Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court. Though of loyalist sympathies during the Revolution, he was not molested by the patriots. His daughter Margaret (Peggy) Shippen married Benedict Arnold.

[11] The Massachusetts delegates to the Congress: John Adams, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine.

29. Dined at Mr. Allan's and went to the Ball in the afternn.

30. Dined at Dr. Cadwallader's.[1]

[OCTOBER]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* At the Congress till 3 Ocl: Din'd with Mr. Hamilton[2] at Bush Hill.

2. Went to Christ Church[3] and dined at the New Tavern.

3. At Congress till 3 Oclock. Dined at Mr. Reed's.[4]

4. At Congress till 3 Oclock, dined at young Doctr. Shippen's.[5]

5. At Congress as above, Dined at Doctr. Bond's.[6]

6. At Congress. Din'd at Mr. Saml. Meridith's.

7. At Congress. Dined at Mr. Thos. Smith's.[7]

[1] Dr. Thomas Cadwalader (1707–79) at one time served on the Provincial Council.

[2] James Hamilton, born in Virginia, died in New York, but lived most of his life in Pennsylvania. He was the son of Andrew who defended John Peter Zenger, of New York, in the famous trial on the principle of freedom of speech in America. James succeeded his father as Prothonotary of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. He was Lieutenant-Governor of the State at various times and suspected of loyalist sympathies during the Revolution.

[3] Episcopal; on Second Street between Market and Arch.

[4] Joseph Reed (1741–85). Washington's first military secretary in the Revolution. Member of the Continental Congress, 1777, and President of Pennsylvania, 1778–81.

[5] William Shippen, Jr.

[6] Dr. Thomas Bond, a well-known physician of Philadelphia and for many years a member of the American Philosophical Society. (*Toner.*)

[7] Thomas Smith (1745–1809). Half-brother to the Reverend William Smith. Member of Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1776 and delegate to the Continental Congress, 1780–82.

8. At Congress. Dined with Mr. John Cadwallader.

9. Went to the Presbeterian Meeting[1] in the forenoon and Romish Church[2] in the afternoon. Dind at Bevan's.[3]

10. At Congress. Din'd at Doctr. Morgan's.[4]

11. Din'd at my Lodgings and spent the Evening at Bevan's.

12. At Congress all the forenoon. Dined at Mr. Josh. Wharton's[5] and went to the Govr's Club.[6]

13. Dined at my lodgings — after being at Congress till 4 Oclk.[7]

14. Dined at Mr. Thos. Barclay's[8] and spent the Evening at Smith's.

15. Dined at Bevans's. Spent the Evening at home.

[1] Then on the northwest corner of Third and Arch Streets.

[2] Saint Mary's, on Fourth Street above Spruce. John Adams was also present and comments on the services in his diary, under this date.

[3] Bevan's tavern.

[4] Dr. John Morgan (1735–89). Director-General and Chief Physician of the Continental Hospitals, 1775. Rivalry and jealousy brought about his summary dismissal by Congress; an inquiry, later, into his conduct acquitted him of all blame.

[5] Joseph Wharton, Jr. (1733–1816), merchant; the father of Samuel, who was a partner in the well-known firm of Boynton, Wharton & Morgan. His estate was known as 'Walnut Grove' and was about at the intersection of Washington Avenue and Fifth Street.

[6] Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* states that the various governors were in the habit of holding their clubs (informal gatherings at which every one attending paid his own expenses) at Peg Mullen's Beefsteak House, which was at Water Street and Wilcox Alley, near the Schuylkill River.

[7] The journals of the First Continental Congress do not show that Washington was appointed to any committees, nor do such other records as have survived show that he took any forward part in the deliberations or proceedings.

[8] Thomas Barclay, a merchant and, later, United States Consul-General in France and commissioner to settle accounts of United States public agents in Europe.

16. Went to Christ Church in the forenoon. After which rid to, and dind in the Provence Island. Suppd at Byrns's.[1]

17. After Congress dind on board Captn. Hamilton.[2] Spent the Evening at Mr. Mifflin's.

18. Dined at Doctr. Rush's[3] and spent the Evening at the New Tavern.

19. Dined at Mr. Willing's and spent the Evening at my own lodgings.

20. Dind at the New Tavern with the Pensa. Assembly.[4] Went to the Ball afterwards.

21. Dined at my lodging and spent the Evening there also.

22. Dined at Mr. Griffin's and drank Tea with Mrs. Roberdeau.[5]

23. Dined at my lodgings and spent the Evening there.

24. Dined with Mr. Mease and spent the Evening at the New Tavern.

25. Dined at my lodgings.

26. Dined at Bevans's, and spent the Evening at the New Tavern.

[1] John Byrns, or Burns (?).

[2] Captain W. Hamilton, of the merchant ship Union (?).

[3] Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813). Signer of the Declaration of Independence; member of the Continental Congress; Surgeon-General, Middle Department of the Continental Army. Married Julia, daughter of Richard Stockton.

[4] This dinner was given by the Assembly to the Continental Congress.

[5] Mrs. Daniel Roberdeau, who was Mary Bostwick, daughter of the Reverend David Bostwick, of New York City.

27. Set out on my return home,[1] dined at Chester and lodged at Newcastle.

28. Breakfasted at the Buck Tavern.[2] Dined at Down's and lodged at New town upon Chester.

29. Breakfasted at Rockhall and reachd Annapolis in the Afternoon.

30. Breakfasted at Mr. Calvert's and reachd home abt. 3 Oclock.

31. At home all day.

[NOVEMBER]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. At home all day. Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Muir, Mr. Rob. Harrison and Doctr. Rumney came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

2. The Gentlemen went away after Breakfast. I rid to the Mill. Mr. Ben: Dulany and Wife came here to Dinner and stayd all Night as did Mr. R: Thompson.

3. I went up to Alexandria[3] after the Company above mentioned went away. Returnd in the aftern.

[1] The surviving memoranda of purchases made by Washington while in Philadelphia contain a number of items of interest. The articles purchased were many and varied, from a watch-key and dry-goods supplies to a bed and furnishings; but of particular interest are the purchases of a sword chain, a pocketbook for Mrs. Washington, a riding-chair for Mary Washington and a cloak for her. Before he left Philadelphia Washington divided £1 between Isaac Lefevre and James Lynch, the two doorkeepers of Congress, and purchased books from John Bradford, the printer, which, probably, were the proceedings of the Congress. 'Sundry Pamphlets' were also purchased to the amount of 17*s.* 6*d.*

[2] October 28. 'By Do. [Exps.] at Carsons 5*s.*' October 29. 'By Exps. at Mrs. Howards £1.0.2.' October 30. 'By Ferriages at South River 8*s.* 4*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[3] 'By Club at Arels 5*s.* 4*d.* By Do. at Mrs. Hawkins's. 3*s.* 9*d.* By Cash paid Captn. Dalton for my part of ye Expense of the Election Ball. £8.5.6.'

4. At home all day — alone.

5. Ditto. Mr. Piercy, a Presbeterian Minister, dined here.

6. Went to Pohick Church. Mr. Triplet, and Mr. Peake and Daughter[1] dined here.

7. Mr. Martin Cockburn and Mr. Geo. Mason, junr. dined here.

8. At home all day — alone.

9. At home all day.

10. At home all day. Doctr. Craik came here in the Evening and stayed all Night.

11. At home all day. Mr. Bryan Fairfax came here and stayd all Night.

12. I went up to George Town to an intended meeting of Trustees for openg. Potomack River.[2] None met. Returnd home at Night.

13. Went up to Alexandria Church in the Evening. Colo. Blackburn, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Richd. Graham came here as a Committee from the Prince Wm. Independent Compy.[3]

[1] Nancy Peake. [2] Potomac Company.

[3] Colonel Thomas Blackburn, Philip Richard Francis Lee, and Richard Graham were the committee, from the Prince William County Independent Company, that asked Washington to command them as its field officer and establish the uniform of the organization. Washington accepted, as he had also accepted the same honor tendered him by the Fairfax County Independent Company. Lee was later a captain in the Third Virginia Regiment and was wounded at the battle of Brandywine.

14. At home all day. Those Gentn. Went away after Dinnr.

15. At home all day alone.

16. Ditto — Ditto.

17. At home. Mr. Francis Willis, junr. dined here and went to B.[1]

18. Captn. Dalton dined here and went away afterwards.

19. At home all day.

20. Set out for West's Ordinary in Order to attend Colo. Mercer's[2] Sale of the Bull run Land. Dined at New Gate[3] and lodged at Colo. Fras. Peyton's.

21. Attended at West's Ordy. with Mr. James Mercer and sold all the Bull run Lands. Returnd to Colo. Peyton's.

22. At Colo. Peyton's all day taking Bonds and making conveyances.

23. Set out for Frederick, in order to sell Colo. Mercer's Estate in that County. Dind at Morgan Alexander's Ordy.[4] and lodged at Colo. Warner Washington's.

[1] 'Belvoir.' Willis selected sundry articles that he wished at Belvoir and paid Washington £9.4.9 for them December 17th. While in Philadelphia Washington advertised Belvoir for sale. His Cash Memorandum Book A notes: 'Charge Colo. Fairfax with ye advertisg. Belvoir pr. Hall & Sellars act. 6*s*. 5*d*.'

[2] Colonel John Mercer. Washington was executor of the estate.

[3] Newgate was the crossing of two important highways in western Fairfax, and is now known as Centerville. The Eagle Tavern at which Washington dined is still standing.

[4] In Shenandoah Valley (?). Alexander's was on the west side of the Blue Ridge.

24. Went to the Sale which began at the middle Plantation at Willm. Dawson's,[1] the Head Overseers. Lodged there.

25. Sale continued at the same place where I again lodged.

26. Sale again. Remained there.

27. Still continued to sell at the same place, where I again lodged.

28. Dined at Mr. Booth's and returnd to my Lodgings at Dawson's.

29. Continued the Sale at Dawson's and finished at that Plantation.

30. Concluded the whole Sales at all the Plantations and went to, and dined at Alexander's where I also lodged.[2]

[DECEMBER]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* At Alexander's till 12 Oclock taking Bonds, etca. Then set of for, and lodged at Leesburg.

2. Breakfasted at Moss's and dined at home.

3. At home all day alone.

[1] Dawson's was on the Shenandoah River. In the margin of the printed almanac page for the month of November Washington has noted the land sale as 'at Snickers.'

[2] 'By Cash paid Mr. Edwd. Snickers on acct. of the waggonage of Colo. Mercer's Wheat from Shanh. £18.0.0.' (*Ledger B.*)

4. At home all day. Mr. Willis and a Mr. Harrison dind here, and Parson Morton[1] lodged here.

5. Went to Colo. Fairfax's Sale at Belvoir. Returnd in the Evening alone.[2]

6. At home all day alone.

7. Rid to the Mill, Morris's, and Muddy hole. In the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Calvert came.[3]

8. At home all day with the above Company. Mr. Willis lodged here.

9. At home all day — the foregoing Company continuing.

10. Mr. and Mrs. Calvert, together with Mr. and Mrs. Custis, went to Maryland. Mr. Willis continued.

11. At home all day. Mr. Willis went to Alexandria after breakfast.

12. At home all day — alone.

13. At home. Doctr. Craik and Miss Nancy McCarty came here in the Evening.

14. I went up to Alexandria to an intended meeting of the Committee,[4] but was disappointed. Found Doctr. Craik and Mr. Willis here upon my return.

[1] Toner thinks, the Reverend Andrew Moreton, who resided at 'Belvoir' when the house was burned. He was minister of Drysdale Parish, in King and Queen County.

[2] Cash Memorandum Book A enters on this date: 'By Do [Cash] paid John Donaldson Making & mendg. a pr. of Stays for Mrs. Washington. £3.2.0.'

[3] Also Mr. and Mrs. Custis. (See entry for December 10th, *post*).

[4] The Fairfax County Committee of Safety.

15. At home all day.

16. Ditto. Do. Mr. Willis went away.

17. Early this Morning my Brother and Mr. Phil Smith[1] came here — as did Mr. Booth.

18. At home all day.

19. Went with Mrs. Washington, my Brother, and Mr. Smith to Alexandria and stayed all Night. Mr. Booth went to Maryd.

20. Returnd in the Afternoon.[2] Found Mr. Booth and Captn. Chs. Smith here.

21. At home all day with my Brothr. Jno, and Mr. Smith.

22. In the afternoon my Brother and Mr. Smith went away.

23. Doctr. Rumney and Mr. Thos. Triplet dined here.

24. At home all day. Mr. Richd. Washington came here to Dinner, as did Mrs. Newman.

25. At home all day with the above.

26. At home all day.

27. Ditto. Ditto. Colo. Carlyle and his Son George came here and stayed all Night.

[1] Philip Smith, of Westmoreland County, and John Washington.
[2] 'By Exps. at Mrs. Hawkins. 3*s*. 9*d*.' (*Ledger B.*)

28. They went away again after Dinner, and Mr. Robt. Graham[1] came and stayed all Night.

29. Mr. Graham went away after breakfast. I contind. at home all day.

30. At home all day — In the Afternoon Genl. Lee[2] and Mr. Jno. Ballendine came here.

31. At home all day. In the afternoon Doctr. Craik came.

[1] Of Fairfax County.

[2] Charles Lee (1731–82), later Major-General in the Continental Army. An eccentric blusterer, of greater reputation than ability. Captured by the British in 1776, he furnished Howe with a plan of operations against America. Exchanged and given command of the advance guard of the army in pursuit of the British, after the evacuation of Philadelphia. Misbehavior on the field of Monmouth and subsequent actions caused his dismissal from the army. He wrote a criticism of Washington's management of the army which William Goddard published.

1775

January 1–June 19

Original in the Library of Congress

Memm. On the 10th of March, when the cherry buds were a good deal swell'd, and the white part of them beginning to appear, I grafted the following Cherries, viz.,

In the Row next the Quarter and beginning at the end next the grass Walk, 13 May Duke, and next to those, 12 Black May cherry — both from Colo. Mason's and cut from the Trees yesterday.

In the Row next to these, 6 Carnation and 6 May Cherry from Colo. Richd. Lee's — but I do not know which is first, as they were not distinguishd.

March 11th. At the head of the Octagon[1] — left hand side — in the first Row next the gravel Walk, 5 Peach Kernals, fine sort from Philadelphia. In the 4 next Rows to these 130 Peaches, also of a fine kind from Phila. same as Colo. Fairfax's white Peach. Row next these 25 Mississippi Nuts[2] — some think like the Pignut — but longer, thiner shell'd and fuller of meat.[3]

[1] Small octagonal houses on either side of the front lawn for storage purposes; their lower portion was of brick and their upper of wood.

[2] Probably pecan nuts.

[3] The above 'Memm.' is written, by Washington, on the fly-leaf of the almanac.

1775

[JANUARY]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home all day. Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast.

2. Genl. Lee and my self rid up to Alexandria and returnd in the Afternoon. Mr. Richd. Washington went away after Dinner.

3. At home all day.

4. Genl. Lee[1] went away after Breakfast. A Mr. Tarrant Breakfasted and Dined here; and Mr. and Mrs. Custis and Miss Calvert came here in the afternoon.

5. At home all day.

6. Mr. George Digges and three of his Sisters — to wit, Tracy, Nancy and Jenny, and Mr. Danl. Carroll and Nancy Peake, came here and stayed all Night.

7. Mr. Digges and his Sisters and Mr. Carroll went away after Breakfast.

8. Miss Nancy Peake went away after Breakfast. Doctr. Rumney Dined and lodged here.

9. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney and Mrs. Newman went away after Breakfast.

[1] 'By Cash lent Genl. Chas. Lee £15.' (*Ledger B.*)

10. At home all day. Mr. Stone dined here.

11. Again at home — alone.

12. Went a Fox hunting. Found, but did not kill.

13. At home all day alone.

14. Ditto — Ditto.

15. Went to Pohick Church and Returnd to Dinner. Colo. Mason and son, Mr. Dulany and Mr. Cockburn, came home with me and stayed all Night.

16. Went up to Alexandria to a Review of the Independent Company and to choose a Comee. for the County of Fairfax.[1]

17. Under Arms this day also, and in Committee in the Eveng.

18. In Committee all day.

19. Returnd home to Dinner alone.

20. At home all day. Miss Calvert returnd home.

21. Went a hunting with Mr. Custis. Killd a Dog Fox and returnd to Dinner.

22. At home all day. Danl. Jenifer Adams[2] came here

[1] Washington had been chosen to command the Fairfax Company, the Prince William, Spotsylvania, and other independent companies in Virginia, and on January 16th and 17th he exercised the Fairfax County Company in drills. This company wrote to Washington in Cambridge that it was ready to march to Boston or elsewhere should he so direct.

[2] Daniel Jenifer Adams, of Charles County, Maryland. He had been a major

abt. 11 Oclock and went away. Price Posey came. Dined and stayd all Night.

23. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney came here in the Afternoon.

24. Doctr. Rumney visited the Sick, returnd to Dinner and stayed all Night. Mr. Alex. Ross dind and went away after it.

25. Doctr. Rumney visited the Sick and returnd to Dinner. I went a hunting. Found a fox but did not kill it.

26. Went up to Alexandria to an intended meeting of the Trustees for opening the Rivr. Potomack.[1] None met. Stayd in Alexandria all Night and bot. a parcel of Servants.[2]

27. Went up to four Mile. Run to view the Land bought of Mr. Mercer. Lookd at part of it and returnd home at Night.

28. At home all day — alone.

29. At home all day. Ditto. Mr. and Mrs. Custis went to Pohick Church and from thence to Colo. Mason's.

of militia during the Revolution. He gave Washington some trouble over the latter's title to certain Maryland landholdings in which Governor Thomas Johnson and Washington were interested.

[1] The Potomac Company.

[2] Men who voluntarily obligated themselves to serve a stated term as servants in return for passage to America. The captains of the vessels transporting them sold the indentures to the planters and thus realized at once on the passage expense. A typical indenture of this character is in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress, under date of January 31, 1774. It is an indenture of agreement between Isaac Webb and Captain John Moorefield; a printed form signed by both and endorsed with an assignment, by Moorefield, of Webb to Washington, March 26, 1774.

30. Rid into the Neck to see the Sick People. Came home by Muddy hole. A Mr. Bruce dined here.

31. At home all day. Miss Dent and a daughter of Captn. Marshall's dind here.

[FEBRUARY]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st*. Went into the Neck to see ye sick. Also went fox huntg. Found nothing.

2. At home all day. In the afternn. Mr. Calvert, Mr. Bordley,[1] and Mr. Jacques[2] from Maryland, Mr. Wagener, Mr. Mills,[3] Doctr. Rumney, and Mr. Rutherford came here.

3. Mr. Wagener and Mr. Mills went away after Breakfast.

4. Mr. Calvert and the Gentlemen from Maryland went away after Breakfast. Colo. Nathl. Harrison and a Mr. Murdock[4] came to Dinner.

5–6. They cont[inue]d here.

7. Colo. Harrison, Mr. Murdock and Mr. Rutherford went away after Breakfast.

8. Mr. Willm Milner came to Dinner and went over to Mr. Digges's in ye aftern.

[1] Thomas Bordley, of Annapolis. (*Toner.*)

[2] Lancelot Jacques, of Annapolis. A French Huguenot, sometimes called 'Doctor' Jacques. Took up a claim, near Fort Frederick, in conjunction with Governor Thomas Johnson, of fifteen thousand acres of land and established the Green Spring iron furnace, 1766; was one of the judges of the Court of Appeals of Frederick County, in 1778.

[3] Of Fairfax County.

[4] Captain Joseph Murdock, of King George County. (*Toner.*)

9. At home all day alone.

10. Doctr. Jenifer and his Brother dind here, and Mr. Milner lodged here.

11. Mr. Milner went away. Mr. Custis and myself went a hunting, but killed nothing, although we found a Fox. Robt. Ashby and bro:[1] lodged here.

12. Ashby and his brother went away. I cont[inue]d at home all day.

13. At home all day. Mr. Geo. Digges came in the afternoon.

14. Went a Fox hunting. Found and killed a Fox. Robt., Phil., and George Alexander came home with us. Mr. Muir, Doctr. Rumney, and Capt. Harper lodgd here.

15. Went a Huntg. again. Found nothing. None but Mr. Digges came home with me. Doctr. Rumney contd. here all day.

16. At home all day. The Doctr. went away after Breakfast, and Mr. Digges after Dinner.

17. At home all day alone.

18. Went up to Alexandria to meet and exercise the Independant Company.[2]

[1] Benjamin Ashby. Washington paid Benjamin and his brother Robert £6.14.0 for survey work done by their father, Robert, in dividing the Chattin Run land into lots.

[2] 'By Cash paid Captn. Harper for the half of £350.16.6 Pensa. Cy. laid out by him in Phila. for am[munitio]n for Fairfax County wch Charge viz in Virga. Cy. £140.6.6. By Cash pd. Do for 8 Quarter Casks of Powdr. 27£ Pensa. equal to £21.12.0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*) An entry in the same book, under

19. At home all day alone.

20. Went up to Alexandria to the Choosing of Delegates to go to Richmond.[1] Doctr. Rumney.

21. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney and Captn. Marshall Dined here. Mr. Grayson and Mr. Henderson came in the afternoon and lodgd.

22. The whole went away after Breakfast. Went with Mrs. Washington to Mr. Digges' and Dind. Mr. Custis and Wife went to Maryland. Doctr. Craik came in ye aftern.

23. Doctr. Craik staid all day. Mr. Rutherford came to Dinner and also stayd all Night. A Mr. Corse[2] dind and went away afterwards.

24. Doctr. Craik went away early in the Morning, and Mr. Rutherford after Dinner.

25. Mr. Danl. Jenifer[3] came to Dinnr. and went away afterwards.

26. Mrs. Washington and self went to Pohick Church. Dind at Captn. McCarty's. Mrs. Craik came home with us.

date of February 23d. reads: 'To Cash recd. from the Sd. [Prince] Wm. [County] Independent Compa. for Colours & Drums £13.0.9 Pena. Cy. equal to £10.8.7.' Captain John Harper had been a sea captain, who settled in Alexandria. His son Robert married Sarah, the daughter of John Washington, of Westmoreland.

[1] Washington and Major Charles Broadwater, who had been elected as Burgesses, were delegated to attend this convention which was to meet March 20, 1775. 'By Club at Mrs. Hawkins 4*s*.' (*Cash Memorandum Book A*.)

[2] John Corse, of Delaware. He was a captain in the Delaware Regiment during the Revolution.

[3] Daniel Jenifer, of Charles County, Maryland (1727–95); father of Dr. Walter H. Jenifer and Dr. Daniel Jenifer.

27. Mrs. Craik went away after Breakfast — the Doctr. coming for her.

28. Went up with Mrs. Washington to Alexandria. Returnd to Dinner.

[MARCH]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1*st.* Mrs. Barnes and Miss Betcy Ramsay came in the Eveng., as did Mr. Morda. Red.

2. Morda. Red went away after Breakfast. Doctr. Jenifer[1] and wife, and Mrs. McCarty came to Dinner and stayd all Night.

3. They went away after Breakfast. I contd. at home all day.

4. Went a Hunting but found nothing. Colo. Harrison and Captn. Wood came here to Dinner.

5. At home all day. Colo. Richd. Lee came to Dinner, and Doctr. Craik in the Evening.

6. Colo. Harrison and Colo. Lee went away, as did Mrs. Barnes and Miss Ramsay after Breakfast.

7. I set my People off for the Ohio under the care of Willm. Stevens.[2] Captn. Wood went away, and Doctr.

[1] Dr. Walter Hanson Jenifer (1756–1809), son of Daniel Jenifer. Served as surgeon to Continental Hospital during the Revolution. Married Sarah, daughter of Dr. James Craik, of Alexandria, 1785. Lived at Port Tobacco.

[2] Probably the servants bought, January 26, 1775, *ante*, to improve his lands on the Ohio. Stevens returned before the end of the year. Washington's instructions to him, dated March 6, 1775, are printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 459.

Craik went up with Lund Washington to see Jas. Cleveland.[1]

7. Colo. Harrison returnd. Mr. Whiting and Mr. Catesby Woodford came to Dinner also stayed all Night.

8. The above Gentlemen went away after Breakfast. Doctor Craik came to Dinner and went away afterwards.

9. At home all day. Lewis Lemart and George Chin came and Stayd all Night.

10. At home all day. Mr. Custis, who came over on Sunday, returnd again to Maryland.

11. At home all day. Mrs. Slaughter dind here.

12. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner. Found Mr. Jno. Stone[2] here, who went away afterwards. Jas. Cleveland came in the afternoon.

13. At home all day. Captn. Mc[Car]ty dind here.

14. At home all day. Doctr. Craik came in the afternn. Cleveland still here.

15. Set of for Richmond.[3] Dind in Colchester with Mr. Wagener and lodgd at Colo. Blackburn's.

16. Went to Dumfries to review the Independant Com-

[1] James Cleveland formerly had charge of the expedition, which Stevens afterwards managed.

[2] Probably John Haskins Stone, of Charles County, and, later, of Annapolis. Governor of Maryland, 1794–97; his great-great-grandfather had been Governor of the State in 1648. He was the younger brother of Thomas Stone, the Signer.

[3] To attend the Virginia Convention.

pany there. Dind and lodged with Mr. Leitch.[1] Spent the Evg. at an Entertt. at Graham's.

17. Reachd Fredericksburg, first dining at Mr. James Hunter's.[2] Detained by wind.

18. Clear and pleasant. In Fredericksburg all day.[3]

19. Dined at Roy's at the Bolling green,[4] and lodged at Hanovr. Court House.

20. Reachd Richmond abt. 11 Oclock. Dind at Mr. Richd. Adams. Went to Colo. Archy Cary's[5] abt. 7 Miles in the Aftern.

21. Dind at Cooley's[6] Tavern in Richmd. and returnd to Colo. Cary's.

22. Dined at Galt's Tavern in Richmd. and returnd to Colo. Cary's.

23. Dined at Mr. Patrick Coote's[6] and lodgd where I had done the Night before.

24. Dined at Galt's and spent the Evening and lodgd at Mr. Saml. Duval's.

25. Returnd to the Convention in Richmond. Dined at Galt's and went to Mrs. Randolph's of Wilton.[7]

[1] Andrew Leitch, merchant of Dumfries.

[2] James Hunter, of King George County.

[3] 'By Exps. at Weedons, 1*s.* 6*d.* By my Mother for the Granny at her Quarter, 10*s.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[4] 'By Ditto [Exps.] at Burks Bridge, 1*s.*' (*Ibid.*)

[5] Archibald Cary, of Ampthill, member of the House of Burgesses, Committee of Correspondence, and member of the Constitutional Convention of Virginia, in 1776.

[6] Patrick Cooley.

[7] Mrs. Randolph, of 'Wilton,' one of the seats of the Randolph Family, on the James River, near Richmond.

26. Stay'd at Wilton all day.

27. Returned to Richmond. Dined at Mr. Richard Adams.

28. Left Richmond.[1] Dined at Hanover Ct. Ho. and lodged at Roy's at the Bolling Green.

29. Got to Fredericksburg abt. 11 Oclock. Dined at Colo. Lewis's and spent the Evening at Weedon's.

30. At Fredericksburg[2] all day. Dined at Colo. Lewis's.

31. Set of from thence. Dined at Dumfries[3] and reachd home about Sun Set.

[APRIL]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. At home all day. Mr. Magowan came here.

2. At home all day. Mr. Magowan went to Church and returnd to Dinner. Mr. Wilper came in the afternoon, as did Captn. Curtis also.

3. Mr. Wilper went away. Mr. Magowan and self walkd into the Neck.

4. Mr. Tilghman, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Danl. Carroll, and Mr. Fitzgerald came down to Dinner and the two last returnd in ye aftern.

[1] The Convention had elected the same delegates to represent Virginia in the Second Continental Congress as it had previously to the First Congress. It also voted its thanks to them for the manner in which they had executed the trust reposed in them at the First Congress.

[2] 'By Cash paid my Mother part of her Income, £30.0.0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[3] 'By Ferriages, 8*s*. By Expences at Dumfries 13*s*. 3*d*.' (*Ibid.*)

5. At home all day with the above Gentlemen.

6. All the above Gentlemen except Mr. Magowan went away after Breakfast. Mr. R. Adams came in ye Evening and stayd all Night.

7. Mr. Adams went away after Breakfast. I continued at home all day.

8. Mr. Magowan went away after Breakfast. Mrs. Washington and self rid to the Mill.

9. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner. Doctr. Craik and Mr. Danl. Jenifer came in the afternoon and stayed all Night.

10. At home all day alone.

11. At home. Captn. Saunders came and lodged here.

12. Captn. Saunders went away after Dinner. A. [Mr.] Lloyd from Pensa. came to Dinner and stayd all Night. Mr. Andw. Stewart also came to Dinner and returnd.

13. Mr. and Mrs. Custis, and Mrs. Newman came to Dinner. Mrs. Slaughter also.

14. Doctr. Rumney, Mr. Adam and Captn. Broadstreet [1] came to Dinner. The two first stayd all Night, the other went away.

15. Went up to Alexandria to the Muster of the Independt. Company. Returnd late at Night.

16. At home all day. Genl Lee, Mr. Harry Lee, Junr.,[2]

[1] Broadstreet, or Bradstreet.

[2] Henry Lee, Jr. (1756–1818), was colonel of a partisan corps during the Revo-

Mr. Geo. Mason, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. McDonald came to Dinner. The three last went away afterwards. Colo. Mason came in the Afternn.

17. Colo. Mason and myself went up to Alexa.[1] to a Committee, and to a new choice of Delegates. I returnd at Night.

18. Walk with Genl. Lee to Mr. Adam's[2] Fishing Landg. Mrs. Blackburn and Mrs. Brown Dind and stayd all Night here.

19. Mrs. Blackburn and Mrs. Brown went away after Dinner. Mr. Rutherford who came yesterday to Dinnr. went away after Breakfast to day. Dr. Rumney came in the aftern.

20. Genl. Lee, and Doctr. Rumney both went away after Breakfast.

21. Captn. Curtis dind here. In the afternoon my Brother Jno., Billy Washington,[3] and George and Charles Lewis came.

lution, known as 'Lee's Legion,' and its commander received the nickname of 'Light Horse Harry.' He married his cousin, Matilda, daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee; was delegate to the Continental Congress in 1786, and Governor of Virginia in 1792–95. While a member of the United States Congress in 1799 he delivered the oration on Washington, which has been so often repeated and which contains the well-known tribute to his commander-in-chief: 'First in War; First in Peace; First in the Hearts of his Countrymen!'

[1] Probably to elect a delegate to fill the vacancy caused by Washington having been elected by the Virginia Convention as one of the delegates to the Second Continental Congress which was to meet in Philadelphia, in May, 1775. 'By Expences at Mrs. Hawkins, 14*s.* 2*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[2] Abednego Adams.

[3] William Washington. On April 26th, Washington's expense account has the following: 'By Cash given my 3 nephews, Willm. Washington & George & Charles Lewis 1 Guina. each £4.4.0.'

22. I rid with my Brother to Alexandria and returnd to Dinner.

23. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Leitch[1] and his wife and Mr. Rob. Adam came.

24. My Brother John, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Leitch and his wife, went away. I continued at home.

25. At home all day. A Mr. Johnson,[2] a Muster Master, dind here, and went away afterwards. Thos. Davis[3] came Express and returnd.

26. Went up to Alexa.[4] to meet the Ind[ependen]t Company. Mr. Hepburn[5] came home with me and Mr. Loyd[6] I found there.

27. At home all day — those Gentlemen continuing.

28. Mr. Hepburn and Mr. Loyd both went away.

29. At home all day.

30. Went up to Alexandria and returnd in the afternoon.

[MAY]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. Went up to Alexa.[7] to meet the Independt. Company. Mr. Herbert came at Night.

[1] 'To Ditto [Cash] recd. from Mr. Andw. Leitch towards paying for the arms engaged for the P. William Company £20.12.6 Pensa. Money. £16.10.0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[2] William Johnston, of Alexandria.

[3] Thomas Davis, of Spotsylvania County. He brought Washington £4.16.0 on account of a powder purchase for the Spotsylvania Independent Company.

[4] 'By Exps. at Mrs. Hawkin's, 3*s.* 9*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[5] Of the firm of Hepburn & Dundas, Alexandria.

[6] John Lloyd (?), a merchant of Alexandria.

[7] 'By Dinner & Club at Mrs. Hawkins, 4*s.* 7½*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

2. Messrs. Hendks.,[1] Dalton and others Breakfasted here, and Majr. Gates [2] and Mr. B. Fairfax dind and lodgd here.

3. Mr. Fairfax went away, Majr. Gates stayd all day. In the afternoon Colo. Richd. H. Lee [3] and Brothr. Thoms.,[4] as also Colo. Chas. Carter, came here.

4. Set out for the Congress at Phila.[5] Dind in Alexa.[6] and lodgd at Marlborough.

5. Breakfasted at Mrs. Ramsay's and Lodgd at Baltimore.[7]

6. At Baltimore all day. Reviewed the Companies there and dind at an Entertainmt. given by the Townsmen.

7. Breakfasted at Cheyne's.[8] Dind at Roger's [9] and lodged at Stevenson's, this side Susqueh[annah.] [10]

[1] Henry Hendricks (?), of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

[2] Major Horatio Gates (1728–1806). Major-General in the Continental Army, Adjutant-General and President of the Continental Board of War. A man of greater ambition than ability. Was connected with the disreputable 'Conway Cabal.' His military activity ended with his disastrous defeat at Camden, in August, 1780.

[3] Richard Henry Lee (1732–94), delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress. Acting under instructions from the Virginia Convention to its delegates Lee moved his resolution for Independence June 7, 1776, which was, after its adoption, July 2d, incorporated, word for word, in the Declaration of Independence, by Thomas Jefferson. Lee was antagonistic to Washington and was the leader of the Virginia faction that opposed him.

[4] Thomas Ludwell Lee.

[5] The Second Continental Congress, which assembled May 10, 1775.

[6] 'By Exps. at the Ferry Alexa. 7*s.* 6*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book B.*)

[7] Washington was unacquainted with the road from Marlborough to Baltimore and hired a guide to show him the way.

[8] 'By Ferriage at Petapsco, 6*s.* 6*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book B.*) Cheyne's may have been Roderick Cheyne who, at one time, kept a school on the outskirts of Baltimore.

[9] Possibly the William Rogers, known to have kept an inn in the city of Baltimore in 1755.

[10] Which would be what is now Havre de Grace.

8. Breakfasted at Charles Town [1] and Dined and lodged at Wilmington.[2]

9. Breakfasted at Chester, and dined at the City Tavern, Phila. Supped at Mr. Jos. Read's.[3]

10. Dined at Mr. Thos. Mifflin's and spent the Eveng. at my lodgings.[4]

11. Dined at Young Doctr. Shippen's. Spent the Eveng. at my lodgings.

12. Dined and Supped at the City Tavern.

13. Dined at the City Tavern with the Congress.[5] Spent the Eveng. at my Lodgings.

14. Dined at Mr. Willings [6] and spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

15. Dined at Burnes and Spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

16. Dined at the City Tavern and Spent the Evening at Doctr. Shippen's.

17. Went to the Commencemt. at the College,[7] and dind

[1] In Cecil County, Maryland.

[2] 'By Do [Exps.] at Christeen Bridge, 4*s*.' (*Cash Memorandum Book B.*)

[3] Samuel Curwen's Journal for May 9, 1775, recites: 'passed the evening at Joseph Reed's in company with Col. Washington (a fine figure and of a most easy and agreeable address).'

[4] Edward Fitz Randolph's.

[5] Saturday was the day on which the delegates came together for a weekly dinner at the City Tavern. The 13th of May, 1775, was Saturday.

[6] Thomas or Richard Willing.

[7] College of Philadelphia which later became the University of Pennsylvania.

at Mr. Saml. Griffin's. After wch. attended a Comee at the Conistoga Waggon.[1]

18. Dined at the City Tavern and attended a Comee.[2] afterwards at the State House.

19. Dined at Mr. Allan's.[3] Spent the Evening in my own Lodgings.

20. Dined at the City Tavern and Spent the Evening at my Lodg.

21. Dined at Mr. Richd. Willing's [4] and spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

22. Dined at Mr. Griffin's and spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

23. Dined at Mr. Jno. Cadwallader's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

24.[5] Dined at Mr. Andw. Allan's and spent the Evening at the Govr's Club.

[1] This committee was appointed to report to Congress a plan for the best means of protecting the province of New York, by fortifications, troop stations, etc. Washington's diary is disappointingly reticent as to such activities. The Journals of Congress show that he served on this committee and one for devising means for obtaining ammunition; estimate of money to be raised and for establishing army regulations.

The Conestoga Wagon Inn was on Market Street, above Fourth, and was run by a Major Samuel Nicholls, or Nicholas.

[2] Same committee on protection of New York. The report was delivered in to Congress May 19th.

[3] William Allan, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

[4] Richard Willing, merchant. Willing's Alley in Philadelphia is named after him.

[5] 'By Cash paid —— Palmer for 40 muskets for P. Wm. Company @ £3.15 each, £150.0.0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book B.*)

25. Dined at Mr. Tilghman's, and spent the Evening at the City Tavern.

26. Dined at Mr. Meridith's and Spent the Evening at the City Tavern.

27. Dined at the City Tavern and spent the Evening at my own Lodgings.

28. Rid out to the Provence Island and dind there in Compy. with sevl. other Gentlemen.

29. Dined at the City Tavern. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

30. Dined at Mr. Mease's, and after setting a while with the Boston Gentlemen,[1] returnd to my own Room.

31. Dined with Mr. Jno. Rutlidge.[2] Spent the Evening in my Chambers.

[JUNE]

Where, how, or with whom, my time is Spent.

1. Dined at Burns's and Spent the Evening in my own Room.[3]

2. Dined at Mr. Josh. Shippen's[4] and spent the Evening at Mr. Tilghman's.

[1] The Massachusetts delegates.

[2] John Rutledge (1739–1800), of South Carolina. Member of the Stamp Act Congress, and of the Continental Congress. Governor of South Carolina and member of the United States Constitutional Convention.

[3] 'By a Belt for, & alterg. my Hanger, £1.5.0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book B.*)

[4] Joseph Shippen (1730–1810), Secretary of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. He took no active or prominent part in the Revolutionary War, though he had been a colonel of Provincial troops in the French and Indian War. Washington and Shippen had met while on the Forbes Expedition.

3. Dined at the City Tavern and spent the Evening at my Lodgings.[1]

4. Dined at Mr. Robt. Morris's[2] on the Banks of the Schoolkill and spent the Eveng. at the City Tavn.

5. Dined at Mr. Richard Penn's, on a Committee[3] all the afternn.

6. At Mr. Willm. Hamilton's and spent the Evening at my Lodgings.[4]

7. Dined at the City Tavern and spent the Evening at home.[5]

8. Dined at Mr. Dickenson's and spent the Evening at home.

9. Dined at Mr. Saml. Pleasant's and went to hear Mr. Piercy [6] preach.

10. Dined at Mr. Saml. Griffen's. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

11. Went to Church in the forenoon and then went out and Dined at Mr. H. Hill's. Returnd in the afternoon.

[1] 'By Wallore [Wallory] Meng's Accts for Cartooch Boxes &ca. for Prince Wm. Compa. wch. charge to them, £30.0.0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book B.*) During the Revolution Meng was a captain in Benjamin Flower's Artillery Artificer Regiment.

[2] Robert Morris (1733–1806), financier. Signer of the Declaration of Independence and Superintendent of Finance of the United States, 1781–84.

[3] Committee on estimate of money to be raised.

[4] 'By Covering my Holsters, 7*s*. 6*d*. By a Cirsingle, 5*s*.' (*Cash Memorandum Book B.*)

[5] 'By 5 Books — Military, £1.12.0.' (*Ibid.*)

[6] Piercy, or Pierson, a Presbyterian minister. (*Toner.*)

12. Dined at the City Tavern and spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

13. Dined at Burn's in the Fields. Spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

14. Dined at Mr. Saml. Meredith's. Spent the Evening at home.

15.[1] Dined at Burnes' in the Field. Spent the Eveng. on a Committee.[2]

16. Dined at Doctr. Cadwalader's. Spent the Evening at my lodgings.

17. Dined at Burne's in the Fields. Spent the Evening at my Lodgings.

18. Dined at Mullen's[3] upon Schoolkill. Spent the Evening at my lodgings.

19. Dined at Colo. Ried's.[4] Spent the Evening at Mr. Lynch's.[5]

[From this point until May, 1781, Washington did not keep a diary. He set out for the Army at Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 23d. Although elected by unanimous vote in Congress, June 15th, to be Commander-in-Chief of all forces raised or to be raised by the United Colonies, Washington's commission was not engrossed and signed until four days later. It is dated June 19, 1775.]

[1] On this day George Washington, Esquire, was unanimously elected General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, by the United Colonies. His speech of acceptance will be found in the Library of Congress edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* and the circumstances surrounding his election are noted in Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Carnegie Institution), vol. 1, pp. 124, 126, 128, 130–40.

[2] Committee to draft rules and regulations for the government of the army.

[3] Peg Mullen's Beefsteak House, at Water Street and Wilcox Alley.

[4] Joseph Reed.

[5] Thomas Lynch, or Thomas Lynch, Jr., both of whom were in Philadelphia as delegates to the Congress from South Carolina.

1775

June 19–December 31

1776–1781

January 1–April 30

Diaries not kept

1781

May 1–November 5

Original in Library of Congress
In 2 volumes: May 1–August 14 and August 14–November 5

Washington was unable to find time for keeping a diary from June 19, 1775, the day on which he received his commission as General and Commander-in-Chief, until May 1, 1781, nearly six years later. The statement in the opening paragraph of this new start of a diary gives an insight into one of the reasons why Washington kept a diary record, 'I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the War, in aid of my memory.'

1781

MAY

I begin, at this Epoch, a concise Journal of Military transactions &ca. I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the War, in aid of my memory — and wish the multiplicity of matter which continually surround me and the embarrassed State of our affairs which is momently calling the attention to perplexities of one kind or another may not defeat altogether, or so interrupt my present intention, and plan, as to render it of little avail.

1781

MAY 1781

To have the clearer understanding of the entries which may follow, it would be proper to recite, in detail, our wants and our prospects — but this alone, would be a work of much time, and great magnitude. It may suffice to give the sum of them wch. I shall do in a few words — viz.

Instead of having Magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different States. Instead of having our Arsenals well supplied with Military Stores, they are poorly provided, and the Workmen all leaving them. Instead of having the various articles of Field equipage in readiness to deliver, the Quarter Master General[1] (as the denier resort, according to his acct.) is but now applying to the several States to provide these things for the Troops respectively. Instead of having a regular System of transportation established upon credit — or funds in the Qr. Masters hands to defray the contingent expences of it we have neither the one nor the other and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by Military Impress,[2] we are daily and hourly oppressing the people — souring their tempers — and alienating the affections. Instead of having the Regiments compleated to the new establishment and which ought to have been so by the of agreeably to the requisitions of Congress,[3] scarce any State in the Union

[1] Timothy Pickering.

[2] Seizure by military force. Certificates were given by the officer making the seizure and compensation to the fair value of the impressed articles was collectible on such certificates. The disordered state of the finances, however, rendered such certificates of unstable value.

[3] First of February, 1780, agreeable to the resolve of Congress of March 9, 1779.

has, at this hour, an eighth part of its quota in the field and little prospect, that I can see, of ever getting more than half. In a word — instead of having everything in readiness to take the Field, we have nothing and instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy defensive one — unless we should receive a powerful aid of Ships — Land Troops — and Money from our generous allies and these, at present, are too contingent to build upon.

May 1st. Induced by pressing necessity — the inefficacy, and bad tendency of pushing Military Impresses too far — and the impracticability of keeping the army supplied without *it*, or *money*, to pay the transportation — I drew for 9000 dollars of the Sum sent on by the State of Massachusetts for payment of their Troops; and placed it in the hands of the Q: M: General with the most positive orders to apply it solely to this purpose.

Fixed with Ezekiel Cornell[1] Esqr. a member of the Board of War (then on a tour to the Eastward to inspect some of the Armoury's &ca.) on certain articles of cloathing — arms — and Military Stores which might be sent from hence to supply the wants of the Southern Army.

Major Talmadge[2] was requested to press the C—s Senr. and Junr.[3] to continue their correspondence and was authorized to assure the elder C— that he should be repaid the Sum of 100 Guineas, or more with interest; provided he advanced the same for the purpose of defraying the expence of the correspondence, as he had offered to do.

[1] Delegate from Rhode Island to the Continental Congress.

[2] Major Benjamin Tallmadge, Second Continental Dragoons. He managed the main line of secret intelligence to headquarters.

[3] Samuel Culper, Sr., and Samuel Culper, Jr. Both these names were *aliases*. Culper, Sr., was Abraham Woodhull, of Setauket, Long Island, and Culper, Jr., whose real name, at present, is unknown, resided in New York City and sent in his reports through Woodhull.

Colo, Dayton[1] was also written to and pressed to establish a correspondence with New York by way of Elizabethtown for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of the Enemy's movemts. and designs; that by a comparison of accts. proper and just conclusions may be drawn.

2*d*. No occurrence of note — a very fresh and steady gale of wind all day from the So. East. upon its shifting (about dusk) it blew violently, and continued boisterous through the Night — or greatest part of it.

4*th*. A Letter of the Baron de Steuben's[2] from Chesterfield Court House Virga. dated the 21st. Ulto. informs that 12 of the Enemys Vessels but with what Troops he knew not, had advanced up James River as high as Jamestown — that few Militia were in arms — and few arms to put into their hands. that he had moved the public Stores from Richmond &ca. into the interior Country.

A Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette,[3] dated at Alexandria on the 23d, mentioned his having commenced his march that day for Fredericksburg — that desertion had ceased, and that his detachment were in good spirts.

5*th*. Accounts from Brigadr. Genl. Clinton[4] at Albany,

[1] Colonel Elias Dayton, Second New Jersey Regiment, and, later, Brigadier-General, Continental Army. He was active in securing secret intelligence from New York throughout the war.

[2] Frederick William Augustus Ferdinand Baron von Steuben. Major-General and Inspector-General, Continental Army. He was born in Prussia, 1730, and died in what is now Steubenville, New York, 1795. He commanded in Virginia before the arrival there of the Marquis de Lafayette.

[3] Marie Jean Paul Joseph Roch Yves Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), Major-General, Continental Army. His detachment had been ordered to Virginia to check the British expedition then under the command of Benedict Arnold. Later, Cornwallis arrived from the Carolinas and assumed command and the subsequent maneuvers resulted in the British general fortifying himself at Yorktown.

[4] Brigadier-General James Clinton, Continental Army. Married Mary De Witt. He was the brother of Governor George Clinton and father of Governor DeWitt Clinton.

dated the 30th. ulto. and 1st Instt., filled me with anxious fears that the Garrison of fort Schuyler[1] would be obliged to evacuate the Post for want of Provisions — and that a Mutiny in the other Troops was to be apprehended. In consequence of this alarming information, I directed the Q.M.Gl. to send 50 Barls. of flour and the like qty. of salted Meat immy. up, for the Garrison of Fort Schuyler — but of the latter there being only 24 in store, no more could be sent.

6th. Colo. Menonville,[2] one of the Adjutt. Generals in the French Army came to Head Quarters by order of Count de Rochambeau[3] to make arrangements for supplying the Troops of His Most Christian Majesty[4] with certain provisions contracted for by Doctr. Franklin.[5] This demand, tho' the immediate compliance with it, was not insisted upon, comports illy with our circumstances; and is exceedingly embarrassing.

The D Q Mr. at Sussex Ct. House,[6] conceiving that the Provision Magazine and other stores at that place were exposed to a surprize, and in danger of being destroyed by the Indians and Tories who were infesting the Settlement at Minisink, I directed Colo. Dayton to send a guard there from the Jersey Brigade near Morristown.

Mr. John Flood[7] (at present a liver at lower Salem)[8]

[1] On the Mohawk River, where Rome, New York, is now situated. In 1758 it was called Fort Stanwix and was enlarged and repaired in 1776 and renamed Fort Schuyler.

[2] François Louis Arthur Thibaut, Comte de Menonville. Lieutenant-Colonel, First Deputy Adjutant-General, French army in America, and aide to Rochambeau.

[3] Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeure, Comte de Rochambeau. Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of French Army in America.

[4] Louis XVI, King of France.

[5] Dr. Benjamin Franklin, United States Commissioner to France.

[6] In what is now Orange County, New York.

[7] Sea captain of Maroneck, New York. His information, copied down in Washington's handwriting, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[8] Lower Salem, in northwest corner of Westchester County, New York.

whom I had sent for to obtain from him an acct. of the Harbours in the Sound from Frogs point Eastward, arrived; and gave the information wch. is filed in my office.

Other letters arriving this Evening late (more expressive of the wants of the York Troops at Albany, and the Posts above) I ordered 100, out of 131 Barrls. of Flour which were in Store, to be immediately sent up; and again called upon the Q M Genl. in the most pointed terms to send active men to forward on, by every means they could devise, the salted provs. in Connecticut; and flour from Sussex Ct. Ho. &ca.

That the States might not only know our wants, which my repeated and pressing letters had repeatedly, and often communicated, but, if possible, be impressed with them and adopt some mode of transporting it to the army, I resolved to send Genl. Heath [1] (2d. Offr. in Commd.) to make the respective legislatures East of York State, pointed representations; and to declare explicitly, that unless measures are adopted to supply transportation, it will be impossible to subsist and keep the troops together.

7th. The wind which blew with great force from the So. East the last two days was accompanied this day by incessant rain and was a most violent storm and is supposed to have done damage to Ships on the Coast.

9th. Went to the Posts at West point, and found by enquiry of General Heath, that all the Meat deposited in the advance redoubts for contingent purposes would not, if served out, serve the Army two days — that the Troops

[1] Major-General William Heath. Washington's instructions to Heath, who was to visit Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, under date of May 9, 1781, and Heath's reports are also there under dates of May 15th and June 18th. July 8th Heath was ordered to return to the army.

had drawn none that day and that none remained in the common magazine.

10*th.* The Q M Genl. representing that it was not in his power to get the Salt Meat of Connecticut transported even for the money that was put into his hands for this purpose — the people now alledging that they had no forage — when the badness of the Roads was an excuse when they were called upon by the Executive of their State in the Month of March and that nothing but Military force could effect the transport for our present wants. Parties were ordered out accordingly and the officers commanding them directed to receive their instructions from him.

11*th.* Major Genl. Heath set out this day for the Eastn. States, provided with Instructions, and letters couched in strong terms representing the distresses of the Army for want of provisions and the indispensable necessity of keeping up regular supplies by the adoption of a plan, which will have system and permanency in't.

This day also I received advice from Colo. Dayton that 10 Ships of the line, and 3 or 4000 Troops had sailed from New York — the intelligence was immediately communicated to Congress, and to the French Genl. and Admiral at R. Isld.

12*th.* Colo. Dayton's intelligence,[1] so far as respected the Sailing of Troops, was confirmed by two sensible deserters from Kingsbridge; [2] which place they left yesterday Morning at two o'clock — they add, the detachment consisted of the Grenadrs. (Bh.) — the Corps of Anspach [3] (two

[1] Colonel Elias Dayton's letter, dated May 9, 1781, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] King's Bridge, over the Harlem River, Philipse Manor.

[3] Anspach, a Bavarian town from which a part of the German mercenary

Battalions) and the 37th. and 43d. British Regiments, amounting, as it is supposed, to about 2000 Men under the Command of Majr. Genl. Redeisel.[1]

13*th.* Received Letters from Count de Rochambeau advising me of the arrival of his Son [2] and from Count de Barras [3] informing me of his appointment to the Command of the French Squadron at Rhode Island — both solliciting an Interview with me as soon as possible — appointed in answer, Monday the 21st. and Wethersfield,[4] as the time and place of meeting.

14*th.* About Noon, intelligence was recd. from Genl. Patterson [5] at West Point, that the Enemy were on the No. side of Croton [6] in force — that Colo. Green,[7] Majr. Flag,[8] and some other officers with 40 or 50 men were surprized

troops were obtained. All the mercenaries were called Hessians by the people of the Colonies because the greater number, nearly two thirds of the entire German force sent to America, came from Hesse-Cassel.

[1] Friedrich Adolph Baron von Riedesel. He had been captured at Saratoga and exchanged. He published an account of his experiences in America, which is not, however, as interesting as the published memoirs of his wife, Friederike Charlotte Luise (von Massow), Madame von Riedesel, who accompanied him and shared his campaign adventures and his captivity.

[2] Donatien Marie Joseph de Vimeure, Vicomte de Rochambeau, *mestre-de-camp en second*, Régiment Bourbonnais, and Adjutant-General of the French Army in America. Comte Rochambeau's letter, dated May 11, 1781, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Louis, Comte de Barras, *Chef d'escadre*, French fleet in America. His letter, dated May 11th, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[4] Wethersfield, Connecticut.

[5] Brigadier-General John Paterson, of Massachusetts. His letter, telling of the death of Colonel Christopher Greene, is dated May 14th. It is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[6] Croton River, about thirty-five miles above New York City. The city now obtains part of its water supply from the reservoir made by damming the stream.

[7] Colonel Christopher Greene, Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He commanded at Red Bank when the Hessians were bloodily repulsed and Count Dunop was killed. His command was surprised at Croton River in May, 1781, and, after surrendering, he was murdered, in cold blood.

[8] Major Ebenezer Flagg, of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was killed at the Croton surprise of May, 1781.

and cut off at the Bridge — and that Colo. Scammell [1] with the New Hampshire Troops had marched to their assistance — I ordered the Connecticut Troops to move on and support those of New Hampshire —

In the evening information was brot. that the enemy (consisting of about 60 horse and 140 Infantry,) had retreated precipitately — and that several of our Soldiers had been inhumanly murdered. —

15*th.* Information, dated 12 o'clock yesterday reports 15 sail of Vessels and a number of Flat boats to be off Fort Lee.[2] — ordered a detachment of 200 men to March immediately to support the Post at Dobbss. ferry [3] — countenance the Militia, and cover the Country in that neighborhood —

Intelligence from C—— Senr., dated 729 [4] — a detachment is expected to Sail to morrow from New York, and said to consist of the Anspach Troop — 43d. B Regiment, remainder of the 76th. — 80th., 17th. Dragoons, and Infantry of the same — to be convoyed by 7 Ships of the line, 2 fifties and 3 forty fours which are to cruize of the Capes of Virginia.[5] — He gives it as the opinion of C—— Junr. that the above detachmt. does not exceed 2000 Men —

[1] Colonel Alexander Scammell, of the Third New Hampshire Regiment; Adjutant-General of the Continental Army, 1778 until his death in 1781. He commanded a part of the Light Infantry and died from wounds received at the siege of Yorktown. Lafayette alluded to him as 'Light Infantry Scammell.' He was a valued officer.

[2] Fort Lee, New Jersey, on the west bank of the Hudson River, about opposite 160th Street, New York City.

[3] Dobbs Ferry, about twelve miles below West Point on the east bank of the Hudson, at the foot of Haverstraw Bay, or Tappan Sea. After Yorktown, when the Army returned to the Hudson, Dobbs Ferry was made the flag-of-truce post for all communications between the British and Continental armies.

[4] The Culpers used a number cipher (729 = Setauket, Long Island), and also a chemical invisible ink, which required a certain chemical reaction to bring it into view. A few of these chemically treated communications survive in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] Capes Charles and Henry at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay.

that not more than 4000 remain — wch. is only (he adds) to be accounted for on the supposition of their expecting a reinforcement from Europe.

16*th.* Went to the Posts at West Point — received a particular acct. of the surprize of Colo. Green and the loss we sustained which consisted of himself and Major (Flag) killed — three officers and a Surgeon taken prisoners (the latter and two of the former wounded) — a Sergeant and 5 R and F.[1] killed — 5 left wounded — and 33 made Prisoners and missing — in all 44 besides Officers.

The Report of the number of Shipping &ca. at Fort Lee was this day contradicted in part — the number of Vessels being reduced, and said to be no higher then Bulls ferry[2] — in consequence of this intelligence, Lt. Colo. Badlam[3] who marched with the detachment of 200 Men pursuant to the order of yesterday and had reached Stony Point halted — but was directed not to return till the designs of the enemy were better understood.

17*th.* Received a letter from Captn. Lawrence;[4] near Dobbss. ferry, informing me that abt. 200 Refugees were building a block house and raising other works at Fort Lee — order'd the detachment which had halted at Kings Ferry[5] and another forming under Colo. Scammel to ad-

[1] Rank and file.

[2] Bulls Ferry, about two miles below Fort Lee. Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Light Infantry had attempted to capture the blockhouse fortification there, in July, 1780. Wayne failed through lack of artillery; but succeeded in destroying some British shipping at that point and in driving off all the stock in the neighborhood. This feat led Major John André to write his doggerel epic: 'The Cow Chase'; a satire that gained fame among the British and tories.

[3] Lieutenant-Colonel Ezra Badlam, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment.

[4] Captain Jonathan Lawrence, Jr., New York Levies and Corps of Sappers and Miners. His letter, dated May 16, 1781, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] King's Ferry, crossing the Hudson from Verplanck's to Stony Point. The most important of all the Hudson River ferries. The French and American armies crossed here on their march to Yorktown, Virginia.

vance down and endeavour to annoy if they could not prevent them. —

A Letter from Genl. Foreman [1] of Monmouth [2] (dated 14th. Instt.) informs me that the British fleet from New York consisting of Seven Ships of 60 Guns and upwards — 12 large Transport Vessels, and 10 topsail Schooners and Sloops made Sail from Sandy Hook [3] the 12th., with the wind at So. East. — but veering round to the Southward and westward it returned within the Hook and lay there till 10 o'clock next day when it again Sailed — by two o'clock it was clear of the hook and Steering Southward.

18*th.* Received Letters from Generals Schuyler [4] and Clinton [5] giving an acct. of the threatened Invasion of the Northern Frontier of this State from Canada and of the unfavourable prospects from Vermont. — and of the destruction of the Post of Fort Schuyler — the indefensible State of the Works occasioned thereby — and submitting for considn. the propriety of removing the Garrison to the German Flatts [6] which he (that is Clinton) was requested to do if it appear'd to be the sense of the Governor [7] and other principal Gentm. of the State that it would be eligable.

Set out this day for the Interview at Weathersfield

[1] Brigadier-General David Forman, New Jersey militia. He had been, previously, colonel of one of the Sixteen Additional Continental Regiments. His letter is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Monmouth Court-House, New Jersey.

[3] Sandy Hook, New Jersey.

[4] Major-General Philip Schuyler, Continental Army. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1778–81, and United States Senator from New York under the new Constitution, 1789–91. His letter, dated May 15, 1781, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] Brigadier-General James Clinton. His letters (three of them) are dated May 16th, and are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Fort Schuyler was destroyed by a fire, supposed to be caused by an incendiary.

[6] German Flats, a productive valley on the south side of the Mohawk River, in what is now Herkimer County, New York.

[7] Governor George Clinton.

with the Count de Rochambeau and Admiral Barras. — Reached Morgans Tavern 43 Miles from Fishkill Landing [1] after dining at Colo. Van Debergs.[2]

19*th*. Breakfasted at Litchfield[3] — dined at Farmington — and lodged at Weathersfield at the house of Joseph Webb, Esq. the Quarters wch. were taken for me and my Suit. —

20*th*. Had a good deal of private conversation with Govr. Trumbull [4] who gave it to me as his opinion that if any important offensive operation should be undertaken he had little doubt of our obtaining Men and Provisions adequate to our wants. — In this opinion Colo. Wadsworth [5] and others concurr'd.

21*st*. The Count de Rochambeau with the Chevlr. de Chastellux [6] arrived about Noon — the appearance of the British Fleet (under Admiral Arbuthnot) [7] off Block Island [8] prevented the attendance of the Count de Barras.

22*d*. Fixed with Count de Rochambeau upon plan of Campaign — in substance as follows — That the French Land force (except 200 Men) should March as soon as the Squadron could Sail for Boston [9] — to the North River —

[1] Fishkill Landing, on east side of Hudson River; the village of Fishkill is about five miles inland from Fishkill Landing. A ferry ran from the Landing to Newburgh which is nearly opposite.

[2] James Van Der Bergh (?), of Westchester County.

[3] Litchfield, Connecticut.

[4] Governor Jonathan Trumbull (1710–85). He served as Governor of Connecticut from 1769 to 1783.

[5] Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Connecticut and Commissary-General of Purchases of the Continental Army.

[6] François Jean, Chevalier de Chastellux, Major-General, French Army in America. He published the journal of his American experiences under the title: *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique Septentrionale dans les années 1780–82*, in two volumes. A translation appeared in London in 1787 and it has gone through several editions in English since.

[7] Marriot Arbuthnot, Vice-Admiral, British Navy.

[8] Block Island, Rhode Island, at the eastern end of Long Island, between Montauk Point and Point Judith, Rhode Island.

[9] French Squadron, which was to refit at Boston.

and there, in conjunction with the American, to commence an operation against New York (which in the present reduced State of the Garrison it was thought would fall, unless relieved; the doing which wd. enfeeble their Southern operations, and in either case be productive of capital advantages) or to extend our views to the Southward as circumstances and a Naval superiority might render more necessary and eligable. — The aid which would be given to such an operation in this quarter. — the tardiness with which the Regiments would be filled for any other. — the insurmountable difficulty and expence of Land transportation — the waste of Men in long Marches (especially where there is a disinclination to the Service — objections to the climate &ca.) with other reasons too numerous to detail, induced to this opinion. — The heavy Stores and Baggage of the French army were to be deposited at Providence under Guard of 200 Men (before mentioned) — and Newport Harbour and Works were to be secured by 500 Militia. — [1]

23*d*. Count de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, while I prepared and forwarded dispatches to the Governors of the four New England States [2] calling upon them in earnest and pointed terms, to compleat their Continental Battalions for the Campaign, at least, if it could not be done for the War or 3 Years — to hold a body of Militia (according to the Proportion given them) ready to

[1] The result of this conference was reduced to writing and a copy retained by Washington and Rochambeau. Washington's copy, in English, bearing the signatures of both commanders, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, under date of May 23, 1781. It is printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 9, p. 251, with Rochambeau's propositions condensed.

[2] This circular letter was dated May 24, 1781, and sent to Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. The completion of their battalions was called for by July 1st and 6200 militia were to be held in readiness to march, at a week's notice, for three months' service. The draft of the circular, by Tench Tilghman, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. It is printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 9, p. 256.

March in one Week after being called for — and to adopt some effectual mode to supply the Troops when assembled with Provisns. and Transportation. —

I also sollicited the Governors of the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut earnestly for a Loan of Powder [1] and the means of Transporting it to the army.

A Letter from Genl. St. Clair [2] came to hand with accts. of an apparent intention of the enemy to evacuate New York.

24*th.* Set out on my return to New Windsor [3] — dined at Farmington and lodged at Litchfield.

25*th.* Breakfasted at Squire Cogswells [4] — dined at Colo. Vandeburgs, and reached head Quarters about Sunset where I found letters from Genls. Schuyler and Clinton [5] full of uncertain information respecting the enemys landing at Crown point [6] and intention to penetrate on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, — this uncertainty respects the number not the fact — the latter seeming to be beyond a doubt — In consequence of this information I ordered the Companies of Vanscaicks [7] Regiment at Westpoint to hold themselves in readiness to Move at an hours warning.

26*th.* Received a Letter from the Honble. Jno. Laurens [8]

[1] Copies of these letters, dated May 25, 1781, are in the Varick Transcript, Washington Papers, Series C, Library of Congress.

[2] Major-General Arthur St. Clair, Continental Army. Rumors of the British intent to evacuate New York were of almost weekly occurrence.

[3] New Windsor, Ulster County, New York, on west side of the Hudson River, about six miles north of West Point. Headquarters were at New Windsor in 1779 and from December, 1780, until the later part of June, 1781.

[4] Nathaniel Cogswell. (*Toner.*)

[5] Schuyler's letter was from Saratoga and Clinton's from Albany. Both were dated May 22d, and both are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[6] Crown Point, Essex County, New York, at the southern end of Lake Champlain.

[7] Colonel Goose, or Gozen, Van Schaick, First New York Regiment.

[8] Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens; a special envoy,

Minister from the United States of America at the Court of Versailles — informing me that the sum of 6,000,000 of Livres was granted as a donation to this Country to be applied in part to the purchase of Arms — Cloaths — &ca. for the American Troops and the ballance to my orders, and draughts at long sight and that a Fleet of 20 Sail of the Line was on its departure for the West Indies 12 of which were to proceed to this Coast where it was probable they might arrive in the Month of July. He also added that the Courts of Petersbg. and Vienna[1] had offered their Mediation in settling the present troubles wch. the King of France,[2] tho' personally pleas'd with, could not accept without consulting his Allies. A Letter from Doctr. Lee[3] inclosing extracts of one from his Brother Wm. Lee Esqr. dated the 20th. of Feby. holds out strong assurances of Peace being restored in the course of this Yr.

28*th.* The Commanding Officer of Artillery[4] and the chief Engineer[5] were called upon to give estimates of their wants for the intended operation against New York. The intention of doing this was also disclosed to the Q M General[6] who was desired to give every attention towards the Boats, that a number of them might be prepared; and provide other matters necessary to such an undertaking —

sent by Congress to France, to obtain or hasten further aid from the French Court. He was successful in this. Prior to going upon this mission he had served as aide to Washington. His letter, dated March 24, 1781, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. It is printed in Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. 3, p. 268. 'My only hope of obtaining additional succour is founded on the exalted opinion which the Ministers have of your Excellency, and everything which comes from you.'

[1] Courts of Petersburg and Vienna — Russia, at St. Petersburg (later Petrograd and Leningrad) and Austria, at Vienna.

[2] Louis XVI. [3] Arthur Lee.

[4] Major-General Henry Knox.

[5] Major-General Louis Le Bèque Duportail, Chief of Engineers, Continental Army. He came to America in 1777.

[6] Timothy Pickering was Quartermaster-General in 1781.

especially those things which might be called for by the Artillery, and the Engineering departments.

31*st.* A Letter from Count de Rochambeau [1] informing me that the British fleet had left Block Island. — that Adml. Barras would Sail with the first fair wind for Boston (having 900 of his Soldiers on Board to Man his fleet) — and that he should commence his March as soon as possible but would be under the Necessity of Halting a few days at Providence.

A Letter from Major Talmage,[2] inclosing one from C—— Senr. and another from S G.[3] dated the 27th. were totally silent on the subject of an evacuation of New York; but speak of an order for Marching the Troops from Long Island and the Countermand of it after they had commenced their March; the cause for either they could not assign. Neither C. Senr. nor S. G. estimate the Enemys regular force at New York and its dependencies at more than 4500 men including the New Levies; but C—— says it is reported that they can command five and some add 6,000 Militia and Refugees. S. G. disposes of the Enemys force as follow. —

At Fort Washington [4] and towards New York — 2 Hesn. Regts.	2	
Laurel Hill [5] — Fort George — 57th B.	1	
Haerlem [6] — at a place called Laurel Hill 38 Ds.	1	
At Hornes Hook,[7] and twds. the City — 22d. and 42d. B: Regts.	2	
In the City Hessian Regimts	2	8

[1] Rochambeau's letter, dated May 28th, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Dated May 29th. It is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] S. G., initials, real or assumed, of an unidentified American spy. Both Culper's and S. G.'s letters are dated May 27th. They are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[4] Fort Washington, about where 181st Street now is. After its capture by the British in 1776, its name was changed to Fort Knyphausen.

[5] Laurel Hill, a rocky ridge about where 193d Street now is. The British built a breastwork fortification thereon which they called Fort George.

[6] On Harlem River. It is about nine miles above the City Hall, New York.

[7] Horne's Hook, on the Harlem River, about where 89th Street now is.

Brought up	8 Regts.
On Staten Island [1]	2
Total on this Isld, 1200	
On Long Island	
1st B Grenadrs — New Town	1
2d Ditto Jamaica	1
Worms [2] Hessian Yagers (called by him 6 or 700)	
No. side of the Plains	1
Light Dragns. 17th. Regt. at Hempstead Plains [3]	1
Loyds Neck,[4] detachmts. from New Corps at 6, or 700	14

The detachment which left Sandy Hook the 13th. Inst. according to S. G. Acct. — consisted of the Troops on the other side [5] — though it is thought he must be mistaken in naming the 46th and 86th Regimts. — the first of them being a convention Regimt.[6] and the other not in America. By accts. from Deserters the 37th Regt. went with the detachment and must be in place of the 46th. as the 80th. must be in that if the 86th. —

	supposd.
43 British Regiment	300
Anspach — 2 Battalions	700
part of the 86th	150
part of the 46th	150
Hessian Yagers — abt	150
	1450

[1] Staten Island, New York Bay, about eight miles southwest of New York City.

[2] Colonel Friedrich Wilhelm Wurmb's Hessian Yäger Corps, at Jamaica Plains.

[3] Hempstead Plains, on south side of Long Island.

[4] Lloyd's Neck, on north side of Long Island, between Oyster Bay and Huntington Harbor.

[5] In the original diary the troops above mentioned are on the page preceding this sentence.

[6] The Forty-Sixth Foot had been captured at Saratoga, and all of the troops there taken were afterwards referred to as 'Convention troops' from the fact that the surrender was termed a 'convention.'

JUNE

1st. Received Letters from General Schuyler and Clinton, containing further but still indistinct accts. of the enemys force at Crown point. Letters from Docts. Smith [1] of Albany, and — Shepherd [2] principal armourer at that place, were intercepted, going to the enemy with accts. of our distresses, — the strength and disposition of our Troops. The disaffection of particular Settlements — the provision these Settlemts. had made to subsist them — their readiness to join them — the genl. temper of the people — and their earnest wishes for their advance in force — assuring them of the happy consequences which would derive to the Kings arms if they would move rapidly to Albany. In consequence of this information I directed the Q.M.General [3] to provide Craft for, and the 6 Companies of Vanscaicks Regiment and Hazens [4] to proceed immediately to Albany and put themselves under General Clinton's orders.

4th. Letters from the Marqs. de La Fayette of the 25th Ulto.[5] informs that Lord Cornwallis [6] formed a junction with Arnold [7] at Petersburg [8] — that with their United force he had marched to City point [9] on James River — and that the detachment which Sailed from New York the

[1] Patrick Smith. [2] William Shepherd. [3] Timothy Pickering.

[4] The Second Canadian Regiment, commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen.

[5] Letters of May 24th and 25th came from Lafayette, but the news Washington here cites is in the Letter of the 24th. The originals are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[6] Charles, Earl Cornwallis, Lieutenant-General, British Army in America. Opposed the measures that brought on the Revolution. Commanded in the South the latter part of the war and was forced to surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, 1781, which defeat virtually ended the war.

[7] Benedict Arnold, Major-General, deserted to the British; Brigadier-General, British Army.

[8] Petersburg, Virginia.

[9] City Point at junction of the Appomattox River with the James, in Prince George County.

13th. of May had arrived in James River and were debarking at Westover — and that he himself had removed from Wilton [1] to Richmond.

The Duke de Lauzon [2] arrived this afternoon with Letters from Count de Rochambeau and Admiral Count de Barras with the proceedings of a Council of War held on Board the Duke de Burgoyne [3] proposing to continue the Fleet at Rhode Island under the protection of 400 French Troops and 1000 Militia in preference to the plan adopted at Weathersfield; requiring my opinion thereon which was given to this effect — that I conceived the first plan gave a more perfect security to the Kings fleet than the latter and consequently left the Land force more at liberty to act, for which reason I could not change my former opinion but shou'd readily acquiesce to theirs if upon a reconsideration of the matter they adhered to it — accordingly, that delay might be avoided, I inclosed letters (under flying seals [4]) to the Governors of Rh: Island and Massachusetts [5] to be made use of or not, requesting the Militia; and pressed the March of the Land Troops as soon as circumstances would admit of it.

5th. Governor Rutlidge [6] of South Carolina came to Head Qrs. with representations of the situation of Southern affairs, and to sollicit aids — I communicated the plan of Campaign to him — and candidly exposed the true state of our Circumstances which convinced him — or seemed to

[1] Wilton, on the James River, below Richmond.

[2] Armand Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de Lauzun, Brigadier-General and Commander-in-Chief of French cavalry in America. He was guillotined during the French Revolution.

[3] Duc de Bourgogne, flagship of Barras' squadron.

[4] Flying seals; attaching the seal in such manner as permit of the letter being opened and read without breaking the seal.

[5] To Governors William Greene and John Hancock, June 4, 1781, asking that the militia be held in readiness for orders from Comte de Rochambeau. Drafts of these letters are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[6] John Rutledge. The headquarters were at New Windsor, New York.

do so — that no relief cd. be given from this army till we had acquired a Naval superiority and cd. transfer Troops by Water.

7th. A Letter from the Govr. of Virginia [1] dated at Charlottesville the 28th. Ulto. representing the distressed state of Virginia and pressing my repairing thither was received — others letters (but not official) speak of Lord Cornwallis's advance to Hanover Court House — that the Marquis was retreating before him towards Fredericksburg and that General Leslie [2] was embarked in James River with about 1200 Men destined, as was supposed, to Alexandria whither it was conjectured by the letter writers Lord Cornwallis was pointing his march.

Accts. from Pittsburg were expressive of much apprehension for that quarter as a force from Canada was expected thither by way of the Lakes and the Alligany River.

A Letter from the Executive of Pennsylvania [3] afforded little hope of assistance in the article of Provision or other things from that State and was more productive of what they had done, than what they meant to do.

9th. A Captn. Randolph [4] sent by General Clarke [5] from Pittsburg, arrived here with letters and representations of his disappointments of Men, and the prospect of failure in his intended Expedition against Detroit unless he could be aided by the 9th Virginia Regiment and Heths Company [6]

[1] At this date, Thomas Jefferson, later, Third President of the United States, was Governor of Virginia.

[2] Alexander Leslie, Major-General, British Army in America. Commanded at Charleston, South Carolina, at the close of the war.

[3] William Moore was then President of Pennsylvania.

[4] Captain David Meade Randolph (?), of a Virginia State regiment.

[5] George Rogers Clark, Brigadier-General, Virginia Militia. Captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes, in the Illinois Country. Clark's original letter, dated May 20, 1781, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Sparks prints it as of May 26th in his *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. 3, p. 323.

[6] Captain Henry Heth's Virginia Independent Company.

at Pittsburg — but the weakness of the Garrison and other considerations would not admit this — nor did it appear to me that this reinforcement would enable him to undertake and prosecute the Plan.

11*th.* Received Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette,[1] containing information of Lord Cornwallis's movements from Westover, and that, at the date of his letter — the 3rd. Inst. — he had advanced to the North Anna [2] — but his design was not sufficiently understood — supposed Fredericksburg. The Marqs. was retreating before him with abt. 3000 Men Militia included — the Enemys force exclusive of Leslie's detachment being estimated at five or 6000 Men. 600 of wch. were Horse.

13*th.* To facilitate the building, and repairing of Boats, a number of Carpenters was ordered from the line of the Army to the Q.M.G: to aid the Artificers of his department in this important business — and Major Darby [3] with a Captain 5 Subs — 6 Sergts. and 100 Rank and file were drawn from the Army in order to collect and take care of ye public Boats.

14*th.* Received agreeable accts from General Greene,[4] of his successes in South Carolina — viz — that Lord Rawden [5] had abandoned Cambden [6] with precipitation, leav-

[1] Lafayette's letter of June 3d is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] North Anna River, Virginia, separates Louisa, Spotsylvania, Caroline, and Hanover Counties. By junction with the South Anna River, it forms the Pamunky River.

[3] Major Samuel Darby, Seventh Massachusetts Regiment.

[4] Greene's letter of May 16th, with enclosures, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] Francis, Lord Rawdon, Colonel, Volunteers of Ireland, British Provincial Troops, and, for a time, Adjutant-General, British Army in America.

[6] Camden, South Carolina. Rawdon had held the town since the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, April 25th.

ing all our wounded and taken in the action of the 25th. of April last, together with 58 of his own too bad to remove — that he had destroy'd his own Stores — burnt many buildings and in short left the Town little better than a heap of Rubbish. That Orangeburg,[1] Forts Mott [2] and Granby,[3] had surrendered; their Garrisons including Officers consisting of near 700 men. That Ninety-Six [4] and Fort Augusta [5] were invested — that he was preparing to march to the Former. And that Lord Rawden was at Nelsons ferry [6] removing the Stores from that place which indicated an Evacuation thereof.

16*th.* Directed that no more Invalids be transferred till further Orders [7] — that a detachment be formed of the weakliest Men for garrisoning of West point and that a Camp be marked out by the Chief Engineer and Q. M. Genl. near Peekskill [8] to assemble the Troops on.

18*th.* Brigaded the Troops, and made an arrangement of the Army, which is to March for the New Camp in three divisions — the 1st. on Thursday the 21st. — the 2d. on

[1] Orangeburg, Orange County, South Carolina.

[2] Fort Motte, in Orange County, South Carolina, so named from its being the converted house of Mrs. Rebecca Motte. Brigadier-General Francis Marion had captured it in May, 1781.

[3] Fort Granby, on the Congaree River, two miles below Columbia, South Carolina. 'Light Horse Harry' Lee captured it in March, 1781.

[4] Ninety-Six, so called from being ninety-six miles from the frontier 'Fort Prince George.' It was in the Abbeville District, South Carolina. Greene besieged the place for nearly a month; but a superior force under Lord Rawdon compelled him to abandon his efforts. Greene's artillery was not heavy enough to batter down the defenses.

[5] Fort Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia, surrendered to Brigadier-General Andrew Pickens, August 5th.

[6] Nelson's Ferry on the Santee River, South Carolina, below Fort Watson.

[7] That is, no men be retired from active service, to the Invalid Regiment, which was a special corps composed of men, not entirely incapacitated, but fit for guard and garrison duty.

[8] Peekskill, on east bank of the Hudson, about fifty miles above New York City.

the 23d. and the 3d. on the 24th. Inst. To strengthen the detachment intended for the Garrison of West point I had previously called upon the State of Connecticut for 800 Militia.

20*th.* Rec'd Letters from Genl. Clinton [1] at Albany inclosing the examination of two Prisoners taken at Crown point by wch. and other intelligence it appears that no Troops had landed at that place and that the enemys shipping *only* had ever been there. In consequence the Continental Troops to the No. ward were ordered to be in readiness to join the army on the shortest notice and Governor Clinton informed thereof that the New levies of the State and Nine Months Men might be hastened to relieve them.

24*th.* A Letter from the Count de Rochambeau dated at Windham [2] the 20th. advises me of his having reached that Town, that day, with the first division of his army — that the other 3 divisions were following in regular succession — that he expected to Halt the Troops two days at Hartford, but would come on to my Camp from that place after the arrival of the division with which he was.

By a Letter from Govr. Trumbull [3] it appear'd that the assembly of Connecticut had passed some salutary Laws for filling their Battalions and complying with my requisitions — but it is to be feared that their list of deficiencies, which the respective Towns are called upon to make good by drafts to compleat the Battalions is short of the number wanting for this purpose.

[1] James Clinton's letter of June 15th in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, is printed in Sparks' *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. 3, p. 335.

[2] Windham, Connecticut, thirty-one miles east of Hartford. Rochambeau's letter is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Dated June 20th. The original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

25*th.* A Letter from Genl. Heath of the 18th.[1] holds up favourable Ideas of the disposition prevailing in the State of Massachusetts Bay to comply with every thing required of them.

Joined the Army [2] at its encampment at Peekskill. Mrs. Washington set out at the same time for Virginia — but with an intention to Halt at Philadelphia if from information and circumstances it was not likely she should remain quietly at Mt. Vernon.

A Letter from Count de Rochambeau [3] informs me that he shall be with his first division at Newtown [4] on the 28th. where he proposed to assemble his force and march in Brigades while the Duke de Lauzens Legion [5] continued to move on his left flank.

Had an interview with Govr. Clinton, Lieut. Govr. Courtlandt [6] and Generals Schuyler and Tenbrook;[7] in which I pressed the necessity of my recalling the Continental Regiments from Albany, and the Post above and of the States hastening up their Levies for 3 years and Nine Months and agreed to order 600 Militia (part of the quota required of Massachusetts bay) from the Counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to march immediately to Albany which was accordingly done and Gov. Hancock [8] advised of it.

[1] Heath's letter, from Roxbury, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] From New Windsor.

[3] June 23d, in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[4] Newtown, Fairfield County, Connecticut.

[5] Lauzun's Legion of cavalry moved parallel to, and some distance to the south of, the columns of French infantry, keeping between them and Long Island Sound and moving so as to be between the footsoldiers and the British at all times. This was to prevent any possible surprise attack by the enemy while the French were on the march.

[6] Pierre Van Cortlandt (1721–1814), President of the New York Senate and Lieutenant-Governor of the State from the organization of the Revolutionary government in 1777 to 1795.

[7] Abraham Ten Broeck, Brigadier-General, New York Militia, and mayor of Albany.

[8] John Hancock, former President of the Continental Congress.

Genl. Stark was [1] directed to repair to Saratoga [2] — take command of the Troops on the Northern and Western frontier and Genl. Clinton called upon in pointed terms to have the Continental Troops under his Command in the most perfect readiness to join the Army.

Rec'd a Letter from the Minister of France [3] advising me of the arrival of between 3 and 4000 Troops abt. the 4th. Inst. at Charles Town [4] — that 2000 of them had debarked and that the rest were said to be destined for St. Augustine and New York — that George Town [5] was evacuated and the Enemy in Charlestown weak (not exceeding 450 Men before the Reinforcement arrived — which latter must be a mistake, as the Ministers informant added, that Lord Rawden had got there after a precipitate retreat from a Post above — and that the American parties were within 5 Miles of the Town. (Lord Rawdens Troops alone amounted to more than the number here mentioned.)

Having suggested to the Count de Rochambeau the advantages which might be derived to the common cause in general and the Southern States in particular, if by arming the Fantasque [6] and bringing the 50 gun ship to Rhode Isld. (which then lay at Boston) the fleet of his most Christian Majesty at Newport could appear in Chesapeak bay I received and answer from the French Admiral through the General that he was disposed to the measure provided he could obtain a loan of the French Guard (of 400 Men which were left at Newport and which

[1] John Stark (1728–1822), Brigadier-General, Continental Army. Was at Bunker Hill; the Canadian expedition; Trenton and Princeton, after which he resigned. On the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Friedrich Baum into Vermont, he raised a force and defeated him at Bennington, for which Congress gave him a vote of thanks and the rank of Brigadier-General.

[2] Saratoga, New York, thirty-six miles north of Albany, the scene of Burgoyne's surrender in 1777.

[3] Anne César, Chevalier de La Luzerne.

[4] Charleston, South Carolina, and British reinforcements.

[5] Georgetown, South Carolina. [6] Fantasque, French ship-of-war.

were granted) and 4 pieces of heavy artillery at Brentons [1] point which the Count could not spare — but that the fleet could not be ready to sail under 20 days from the date of his letter (the 21st.) — thus uncertain, the matter stands.

28*th.* Having determined to attempt to surprize the Enemys Posts at the No. end of Yk. Island, if the prospt. of success continued favourable, and having fixed upon the night of the 2d. of July for this purpose — and having moreover combined with it an attempt to cut off Delancy's [2] and other light Corps without Kingsbridge and fixed upon Genl. Lincoln [3] to commd. the first detachment and the Duke de Lauzen the 2d. every thing was put in train for it and the Count de Rochambeau requested to file off from Ridgebury [4] to Bedford [5] and hasten his Mar[ch] — while the Duke de Lauzen was to do the same and to assemble his command (which was to consist of abt. 3 or 400 Connecticut State Troops under the Command of Genl. Waterbury [6] — abt. 100 York [7] Troops under Captn. Sacket [8] — Sheldons [9] Legion of 200, and his own proper Corps) — Genl. Lincolns command was to consist of Scammells light Troops and other detachments to the amt. of

[1] Brenton's Point, Newport, Rhode Island.

[2] Brigadier-General Oliver De Lancey's brigade of Westchester County Refugees, British Provincial Troops. It was nearly always referred to as De Lancey's Corps.

[3] Major-General Benjamin Lincoln. Commanded at the siege of Charleston and was captured at that place. Exchanged, he was at Yorktown, and Washington designated him to receive the surrender of the British there. He was, later, Secretary of War of the Continental Congress, and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts.

[4] Ridgebury is now Ridgefield, Connecticut.

[5] Bedford, sometimes called New Bedford, is in Westchester County, New York.

[6] Brigadier-General David Waterbury, Connecticut State troops.

[7] York, as the State of New York was often called.

[8] Captain William Sackett, of the New York State Levies.

[9] Colonel Elisha Sheldon, Second Continental Dragoons.

800 Rank and file properly officered — 150 Waterman — and 60 Artillerists.

29*th.* Rec'd a letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette informing me that Lord Cornwallis after having attempted to surprize the Virginia Assembly at Charlottesville and destroy some Stores at the Forks of James River [1] in which he succeeded partially had returned to Richmond without having effected any valuable purpose by his Manoeuvres in Virginia. In a private letter [2] he complains heavily of the conduct of the Baron de Steuben whom he observes has rendered himself extremely obnoxious in Virga.

JULY

2*d.* Genl. Lincoln's detachment embarked last Night after dark at or near Tellers [3] point; and as his operations were to be the Movement of two Nights he was desired to repair to Fort Lee this day and reconnoitre the enemy's works — Position and strength as well as he possibly could and take his ultimate determination from appearances — that is — to attempt the surprize if the prospect was favourable — or to relinquish it if it was not and in the latter case to land above the Mouth of Spikendevil [4] and cover the Duke in his operation on Delancys Corps.

At three o'clock this Morning I commenced my March with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached Troops and improve any advantage which might be gained by them — made a small halt at the New bridge [5] over

[1] Forks of the James River, the junction of the Fluvanna and Ravanna Rivers.

[2] June 18th. The original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Teller's Point, now called Croton Point, Hudson River, below Verplanck's Point.

[4] Spuyten Duyvil Creek, the twisted and tumbled stream that connected Harlem River with the Hudson.

[5] New Bridge, also known as Pines Bridge, over the Croton River, about a mile above Croton Dam.

Croton abt. 9 Miles from Peekskill and another at the Church by Tarry Town till Dusk (9 Miles more) and compleated the remaining part of the March in the Night — arriving at Valentines Hill [1] (at Mile square) about Sunrise.

Our Baggage and Tents were left Standing at the Camp at Peekskill.

3d. The length of Duke Lauzens March and the fatigue of his Corps, prevented his coming to the point of Action at the hour appointed. In the meantime Genl. Lincolns Party who were ordered to prevent the Retreat of Delancy's Corps by the way of Kg. Bridge and prevent succour by that Rout were attacked by the Yagers and others — but on the March of the Army from Valentines Hill retired to the Island. Being disappointed in both objects from the causes mentioned I did not care to fatigue the Troops any more but suffered them to remain on their Arms while I spent a good part of the day in Reconnoitering the Enemys Works.

In the Afternoon we retired to Valentines Hill and lay upon our Arms. Duke of Lauzen and Waterbury lay on the East side of the Brunxs [2] River on the East Chester [3] Road. Our loss in this days skirmishing was as follows — viz. [Blank in the MS.]

4th. Marched and took a position a little to the left of Dobbes ferry and Marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left. Duke Lauzen Marched to the White pln. and Waterbury to Horseneck.[4]

[1] Valentine's Hill, northeast of Kingsbridge.

[2] Bronx River, a small stream above New York City proper in Westchester County, that parallels the Hudson until it turns southeast to enter the East River between Harlem and Frog's Point.

[3] East Chester, about twenty miles north of New York, in Westchester County, and about five miles northeast of the town of West Chester.

[4] Horseneck, Fairfield County, Connecticut.

5*th.* Visited the French Army which had arrived at Northcastle.[1]

6*th.* The French Army formed the junction with the American on the Grounds marked out. The Legion of Lauzen took a position advanced of the plains on Chittendons hill [2] west of the River Brunx. This day also the Minister of France [3] arrived in Camp from Philadelphia.

8*th.* Bagn a Work at Dobbss. ferry with a view to establish a communication there for the transportation of provision and Stores from Pennsylvania.

9*th.* Received a Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette [4] informing me of Cornwallis's retreat to Williamsburg — that he had pushed his Rear and had obtained advantages — having killed 60 and wounded an hundred with small loss.

Southern accts. though not official speak of the Reduction of Augusta and Ninety Six by the Arms of Major Genl. Greene.

10*th.* A Letter from Governor Trumbull,[5] inclosing ye proceedings of a convention of Eastern Delegates give better hope of a regular supply of provisions than we have been accustomed to for more than two years as the busi-

[1] North Castle, Westchester County, near the Connecticut line.

[2] Chatterton's Hill. The battle of White Plains was fought here, October 28, 1776.

[3] Chevalier de La Luzerne.

[4] Dated June 28th. The original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut. His letter, dated July 9, 1781, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The enclosed proceedings of the commissioners appointed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, determined and agreed to furnish the army with beef from August to the end of the year to the amount of 570,000 pounds per month at a ratio and at times fixed by the commissioners.

ness seems to be taken up systematically and regular modes adopted to furnish supplies at stated periods.

General Heath [1] also writes very favourably of the disposition of the Eastn. States — but still we are without the re-inforcements of Men required of them.

The Boats undertaken by General Schuyler, are, by his letters,[2] in a promising way — as those at Wappings Creek [3] also are by the Q.Mr. Genls. report.

Hazen's and the 1st York Regim. who had been ordered to West point arrived there but not till the latter had mutinied on acct. of their pay and several had deserted — the other York Regiment were retained at Albany to bring along the Boats and boards.

13*th.* The Jersey Troops [4] arrived at Dobbs's Ferry agreeable to orders. Some French Frigates made an attempt on the Enemy's Post at Loyds Neck [5] but without success not being able to land in the night.

14*th.* Near 5000 Men being ordered to March for Kingsbridge, to cover and secure a reconnoitre of the Enemys Works on the No. end of York Island, Harlaem River,[6] and the Sound were prevented doing so by incessant Rain.

[1] July 4th from Roxbury, Massachusetts. The original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] July 3d and 6th. The originals are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Wapping's Creek, Dutchess County, New York, south of Peekskill.

[4] Jersey troops, meaning the New Jersey regiments.

[5] This attack on 'Lloyd's Neck' [Huntington Bay], Long Island, and its failure is described by Comte de Barras in his letter to Washington, July 15, 1781. Washington's reply, July 21st, was: 'Although the detachments from your fleet under the command of Baron d'Angely did not succeed at Huntington we are none the less obliged to your Excellency for directing the attempt to be made.' Barras' letter and Washington's reply are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The Washington letter is printed in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 9, p. 323, *note*.

[6] Harlem River, northern boundary of Manhattan Island, from the East River at Hell Gate to the Hudson at Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

15*th.* The Savage Sloop of War of 16 Guns — the ship Genl. Washington, lately taken by the Enemy — a ten gun Galley and two other small armed Vessels passed our post at Dobbs Ferry (which was not in a condition to oppose them) — at the same time three or four River Vessels with 4 Eighteen pounders, Stores &ca. had just arrived at Tarrytown and with infinite difficulty, and by great exertion of Colo. Sheldon, Captn. Hurlbut,[1] (who got wounded) — Captn. Lieutt. Miles[2] of the Artillery and Lt. Shayler[3] were prevented falling into the hands of the Enemy as they got a ground 100 yards from the Dock and were set fire to by the Enemy but extinguished by the extraordinary activity and spirit of the above Gentl. — two of the Carriages however were a good deal damaged by the fire. The Enemy however by sending their armed Boats up the River took the Vessel of a Captn. Dobbs[4] laden with Bread for the French Army — cloathing for Sheldons Regiment and some passengers. This was done in the Night — it being after Sunset before the Vessels passed the Post at Dobbs ferry.

16*th.* The Cannon and Stores were got out of the Vessels and every thing being removed from Tarrytown, two french twelve pounders, and one of our 18 prs. were brought to bear upon the Ships which lay of Tarrytown, distant about a Mile, and obliged them to remove lower down and more over to the West shore.

17*th.* The Vessels being again fired at in the position they took yesterday run up the River to Tellers point and there come to burning the House of the Widow Noyell.[5]

[1] Captain George Hurlburt, Second Continental Dragoons.
[2] Captain-Lieutenant John Miles, Second Continental Artillery.
[3] Lieutenant Joseph Shaylor, Fourth Connecticut Regiment.
[4] Captain William Dobbs, of Fishkill, New York, a sea captain and pilot.
[5] Widow Noyell — Neill, or Neale (?).

18*th*. I passed the North River [1] with Count de Rochambeau — Genl. de Beville [2] his Qr: Mr. Genl. and Genl. Duportail in order to Reconnoitre the Enemy Posts and Encampments at the North end of York Island — took an Escort of 150 Men from the Jersey Troops on the other side.

From different views the following discoveries were made — viz —

That two Ships of 20 Guns and upwards lay opposite to the Mouth of Spikendevil — one pretty near the East Shore the other abt the same distance from the West; the first is intended to guard the Mouth of Spikendevil equally with the No. River. Below there, and directly opposite to Fort Washington (or Knyphausen) lay two transports with about 6 Guns and few men in each, the Easternmost Ship seems to designed to Guard the landing at the little bay above Jefferys Rock.[3] About the center of the Ground leading to Jefferys Rock or point a Guard Mounts. It appears to be no more than a Sergeants guard with one Centry in front where there is a small Work — the Guard House standing within.

These are all the Guards and all the security I could discover upon the No. River on the Right flank of the Enemy — the shore from Jeffreys Rock downwards, was quite open, and free — without Hutts of any kind — Houses or Troops — none being encamped below the heights. There did not even appear springs, or washing places anywhere on the face of the Hill which were resorted to.

The Island is totally stripped of Trees, and wood of every kind; but low bushes (apparently as high as a Man's

[1] North River, another name for the Hudson.

[2] De Beville, Maréchal-de-Camp and Quartermaster-General, French Army in America.

[3] Jeffrey's Rock, or Point, on the Hudson between 176th and 177th Streets, New York City.

Waste) appear in places which were covered with wood in the year 1776.

The side of the Hill from the Barrier below Fort Tryon,[1] to the Bay opposite to fort Knyphausen, is difficult of access; but there seems to be a place abt. 200 yds above the bay, which has the best appearance of landing, and is most private — but a hut or two on the heights abt. 200 yds. above Fort Knyphausen, and a little above the old long Battery, which was thrown up in 1776 must be avoided by leaving it on the left in getting to the Fort last mentioned.

In the hollow below Morris's heights [2] (between that and Haerlam) is a good place to land, but near the York Road opposite there appeared to be a few Tents and many Dragoon Horses seemed to be at Pasture in the low land between the heights. A landing perfectly concealed, but not so good, might be made a little higher up the River, and nearer to those heights which ought to be immediately occupied (between the old American lines and the aforesaid hollow).

From the point within the Mouth of Spikendevil, the way to the Fort on Cox's Hill [3] seems difficult, and the first part of it covered with bushes — there is a better way up from the outer point, but too much exposed to a discovery from the Ship which lays opposite to it and on acct. of its being less covered with wood.

The ground around the Fort on Cox's Hill is clear of Bushes — there is an abatis round the Work, but no friezing; nor could I discover whether there is a ditch. At the No. Et. corner there appeared to be no Parapet and the whole seemed to be in a decaying State — the gate is next the No. River.

[1] Fort Tryon, at about what is now 196th Street. Named after Governor William Tryon, the last Royal Governor of New York.

[2] Morris's Heights, where the Roger Morris House (the Jumel Mansion) stands.

[3] Cox's Hill, just below Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

Forts Tryon and Knyphausen and Ft. George or Laurell, with the Batteries in the line of Pallisading across from River to River appeared to be well friezed, ditched and abbatied. In a word to be strong and in good repair.

Fort N. 8. is also abatied and friezed at the Top — the gate is next Haerlam River — there are no Houses or Huts on the side of the Hill from this work till you come near old Fort Independence.[1]

On McGowans heights [2] there appears (by the extent of the Tents) to be two Battns. Encamped — supposed to be the British Grenadiers — a little in the rear of this, and on the (enemys) left, are a number of Huts — but whether they are inhabited or not could not be ascertained — there being different opinions on this point, from the nearest view we could get of it. On the height opposite to Morris' white House [3] there appeared to be another Regt. (supposed to be the 38th British). Between this and Fort Knyphausen (abt. half way) are two small Encampments contiguous to each other — both together containing two or 3 and 40 Tents. — Hessians — on Laurel Hill near Fort George is another Encampment in view abt. 40 Tents and huts which appear to be Inhabited also by (it is said) the 57th Regiment. The other and only remaining encampment in View, and discoverable from the West side of the River, is betwn. the Barrier and Kingsbridge — in the hollow between Cox's hill and the heights below — one hundred Tents could be counted in view at the same time, and others Might be hid by the Hills — at this place it is said the Jagers — Hessian and Anspach lay.

[1] Fort Independence on the old Kingsbridge road. It was in Van Cortlandt Park, on Tetard's Hill, north of the mouth of Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

[2] McGowan's Heights, the ridge on which now is Mount St. Vincent's. The low ground between this ridge and the hill to the south was known as McGowan's Pass.

[3] The Jumel Mansion.

19*th.* The Enemys Shipping run down the River, and left the Navigation of it above once more free for us. In passing our Battery at Dobbss. where were 2 Eighteen and 2 twelve pounders — and two Howitzers; they rec'd considerable damage; especially the Savage Sloop of War which was frequently hulled, and once set on fire; occasioning several of her people, and one of our own (taken in Dobbes Sloop, and) who gives the acct. to jump over board — several people he says were killed and the ship pierced through both her sides in many places and in such a manner as to render all their pumps necessary to free the Water.

20*th.* Count de Rochambeau having called upon me, in the name of Count de Barras, for a definitive plan of Campaign, that he might communicate it to the Count de Grasse[1] — I could not but acknowledge, that the uncertainties under which we labour — the few Men who have joined (either as Recruits for the Continental Battns. or Militia) and the ignorance in which I am kept by some of the States on whom I mostly depended — especially Massachusetts from whose Govr. I have not received a line since I addressed him from Weathersfd. the 23d. of May last — rendered it impracticable for me to do more than to prepare, first, for the enterprize against New York as agreed to at Weathersfield and secondly for the relief of the Southern States if after all my efforts, and earnest application to these States it should be found at the arrivl. of Count de Grasse that I had neither Men, nor means adequate to the first object — to give this opinion I was further induced from the uncertainty with respect to the time of the arrival of the French Fleet and whether Land

[1] François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, Marquis de Tilly, Lieutenant-General French naval forces and Commander-in-Chief, French Navy in America. His coming determined the attempt on Cornwallis at Yorktown and his fleet gave America control of the sea for the first time in the war.

Troops would come in it or not as had been earnestly requested by me and inforced by the Minister of France.

The uncertainty of sufficient aids of Men and means from the States to whom application had been made, and the discouraging prospect before me of having my requisitions complied with — added to an unwillingness to incur any expence that could be avoided induced me to desire Genl. Knox to suspend the Transport of the heavy Cannon and Stores from Philadelphia lest we should have them to carry back again or be encumbd. with them in the field.

21*st.* Wrote to the Count de Grasse in a Cypher of the Count de Rochambeau's giving information of the junction of the allied armys — the Position they had taken — our strength and that of the enemy's — our hopes and fears and what we expected to do under different circumstances. This letter was put under cover to Genl. Forman, who was requested to have look outs on the heights of Monmouth,[1] and deliver it himself upon the arrival of the Fleet and who was also requested, to establish a chain of Expresses for quick communication between Monmouth and Dobbss. ferry — the Expence of which I would see paid.

Again ordered abt. 500 Men to be ready to March at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy Posts at Kingsbridge and to cut off if possible, such of Delancys Corps as should be found without their lines.

At the hour appointed the March commenced in 4 columns, on different Roads. Majr. Genl. Parsons [2] with the Connecticut Troops and 25 of Sheldons horse formed the Right column (with two field pieces) on the No. River Road — the other Two divisions of the Army, under the Majr. Generals Lincoln and Howe,[3] together with the

[1] Monmouth County, New Jersey.
[2] Major-General Samuel Holden Parsons, in command of the Connecticut Line.
[3] Major-General Robert Howe, of North Carolina.

Corps of Sappers and Miners and 4 field pieces, formed the Next column on the Saw Mill River [1] Road. The right column of the French (on our left) consisted of the Brigade of Bourbonnis,[2] with the Battn. of Grenadiers and Choissairs,[3] 2 field pieces and 2 twelve pounders, their left column was composed of the Legion of Lauzen, one Battn. of Grenadiers, and Choissairs of Soussonnis,[4] 2 field pieces and 2 Howitzers. General Waterbury with the Militia, and State Troops of Connecticut, were to March on the East Chester Road and to be joined at that place by the Cavalry of Sheldon, for the purpose of Scouring Frogs Neck. Sheldons Infantry was to join the Legion of Lauzen for the purpose of Scouring Morrissania,[5] and to be covered by Scammells light Infantry who were to advance thro' the fields and waylay the Roads, stop all communication and prevent intelligence getting to the Enemy.

At Mile Square (Valentine's hill). The left column of the American Troops, and right of the french formed their junction, as did the left of the French also, by *Mistake* as it was intended it should cross the Brunx by Garrineaus,[6] and recross it at Williams's bridge.[7]

The whole Army (Parsons's division first) arrived at

[1] The Saw Mill River enters the Hudson at Yonkers. The road followed the east bank of the river and turned at Philipse's toward the Bronx.

[2] 'Régiment Bourbonnais' organized in 1597, and called by the names of its various colonels until 1673 when it was designated as the 'Régiment Bourbonnais.' Anne Alexandre Marie Sulpice de Montmorency, Marquis de Laval, was colonel from 1776 to 1783. The regiment came to America in 1780.

[3] Choissairs, meaning chasseurs, cavalry or mounted men.

[4] 'Régiment Soissonnais' was organized in 1630. Jean Baptiste Louis Philippe de Félix d' Olières, Comte de Saint-Miasme, was colonel, 1775–88. The regiment came to America in 1780.

[5] 'Morrisannia,' so called in the royal grant. About three thousand acres bounded by the Harlem River on the west and by Long Island Sound on the south and east.

[6] Garineau's, on the Bronx River, about sixteen miles north of the mouth of the stream.

[7] Williams' Bridge, across the Bronx River, nearly due east of Valentine's Hill and about eight miles above the mouth of the river.

Kingsbridge about daylight and formed on the heights back of Fort Independence extending towards delancy's Mills.[1] While the Legion of Lauzen and Waterbury proceeded to scour the Necks of Morrisania and Frogs to little effect, as most of the Refugees were fled, and hid in such obscure places as not to be discovered; and by stealth got over to the Islands adjacent and to the enemys Shipping which lay in the East River. a few however were caught and some cattle and Horses brought off.

22*d*. The enemy did not appear to have had the least intelligence of our Movement, or to know we were upon the heights opposite to them till the whole army was ready to display.

After having fixed upon the ground, and formed our line, I began, with General Rochambeau and the Engineers, to reconnoitre the enemys position and Works first from Tippets hill[2] opposite to their left and from hence it was evident that the small redoubt (Fort Charles)[3] near Kingsbridge would be absolutely at the command of a battery which might be erected thereon. It also appeared equally evident that the Fort on Cox's hill was in bad repair, and little dependence placed in it; there is neither ditch nor friezing to it, and the No. East Corner appears quite easy of access (occasioned it would seem) by a Rock. — the approach from the inner Point (mentioned in the Reconnoitre from the Jersey shore) is secured by a ledge of Rocks which would conceal a party from the observation and view of the ship till it got within abt. 100 yds. of the Fort, round which for that or a greater distance the ground has little covering upon it of bushes; there is a house on

[1] DeLancey's Mills, at the Bronx Falls, about four miles above the junction of the Bronx with the East River.

[2] Tippett's Hill, to the west of Kingsbridge.

[3] Fort Charles, British redoubt on the south side of Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

this side under Tippets hill but out of view, I conceive, of the crossing place most favorable to a partizan stroke. From this view, and every other I could get of Forts Tryon and Knyphausen and Laurel hill the Works are formidable.

There is no Barracks or huts on the East side of the Hill on which Forts Tryon and Knyphausen stands, nor are there any on the hill opposite except those by Fort George. Near the Bleu bell [1] there is a number of Houses but they have more the appearance of Stables than Barracks. In the hollow, near the Barrier gate are about 14 or 15 Tents; which is the only Encampment I could see without the line of Pallisading as the large one discovered on the 18th. through the brake of the Hill betwn. Fort Tryon and Coxs was not to be seen from any view I had.

A continued Hill from the Creek, East of Haerlam River, and a little below Morriss. White House, has from every part of it, the command of the opposite shore, and all the plain adjoining, within range of shot from batteries which may be erected thereon. The general width of the River along this range of Hills, appears to be from one to two hundred yards, the opposite shore (tho' more or less marshy) does not seem miry, and the banks are very easy of access; how far the Battery, under cover of the block Ho. on the hill No. West of Harlaem town is capable of scouring the plain, is difficult to determine from this side, but it would seem as if the distance was too great to be within the range of its shot on that part of the plain nearest the Creek before mentioned and which is also nearest the heights back of our old lines thrown up in the year 1776. It unfortunately happens that in the rear of the (continued) hill before mentioned, there is a deep swamp, and the grounds East of that swamp, are not so high as the heights near the Harlaem River. In the rear of this again

[1] Blue Bell Tavern, at the foot of the hill on which stood Fort Knyphausen (Washington).

is the Brunx which is not to be crossed without Boats below De Lancy Mills.

23*d*. Went upon Frogs Neck, to see what communication could be had with Long Isld. the Engineers attending with Instrumts. to measure the distance across it was found to be Yards.

Having finished the Reconnoitre without damage, a few harmless shot only being fired at us, we Marched back about Six o'clock by the same Route we went down and a reversed order of March and arrived in Camp about Midnight.

This day letters from Genls. Greene [1] and the Marqs. de la Fayette [2] came to hand; the first informing of his having taken all the Enemy's posts in Georgia except Savanna and all those in So. Carolina except Charles Town and Ninety six, the last of wch. he was obliged to abandon the siege of, on acct. of the Relief which was Marching to it, in consequent of the late reinforcemt. received at Charles Town. The second, that Waynes [3] affair with Lord Cornwallis on the 6th. Instt. was partial on one side, as a part of our force was opposed to the enemys whole army. That on our side the loss in killed, wounded and missing, amounted to 5 Cap: 1 Capt. Lieutt. 4 Lieutts. 11 Sergts. and 118 R and file; that the enemys loss was computed at 300 at least, that our loss of two field pieces proceeded [from] the horses belonging to them being killed and that Lord Cornwallis had retreated to the South side of James River from the Peninsula at James Town.

[1] July 17th. The original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] July 20th. The original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Brigadier-General Anthony Wayne, nicknamed 'Mad Anthony.' His most brilliant exploit during the Revolution was the capture of Stony Point in 1779, for which he was given a vote of thanks by Congress and a medal. The engagement here alluded to is known as the affair of Jamestown Ford, Virginia, where Wayne's audacity and reckless courage wrested a victory from almost certain defeat.

29*th.* A Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette [1] (commanding in Virginia) informed me that after Lord Cornwallis had crossed James River he detached Tarlton [2] with a body of horse into Amelia County [3] with a view, as was supposed, to destroy some Stores which had been deposited there, but which had been previously removed; that after this the enemys whole force removed to Portsmouth with a design it was said to embark part of them and that he had detached General Wayne to the South side of James River to cover the Country, while the enemy lay in it, and to march Southerly if they did not; he himself with the Main body of his army having taken his position at a place called Malvin hill [4] not far from Shirley.

Part of the Second York Regiment came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen. Schuyler and were finished; the light Infantry company of the Regiment was ordered down with the next Boats and the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done.

About this time, the discontent in the Connecticut State line occasioned by some disappointment of a Committee sent from it to the assembly, in settling an acct. of Subsistence &ca. began to increase and put on a more serious face; which induced me to write a second letter to the Govr. of that State; [5] the distress of the Line for want of a

[1] The June 20th letter, cited above.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Banastre Tarleton, of the British Legion, a cavalry organization of the British Army, made up, in part, of loyalists. He was an active officer noted for his daring and cruelty. His principal activity was in the Southern States; he was captured at Yorktown, and, after his return to England, published a *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London, 1787), a work of exaggerated egotism, but containing copies of documents not readily available elsewhere.

[3] Amelia County, about thirty miles northwest of Richmond, Virginia.

[4] Malvern Hill, Charles City County, Virginia.

[5] August 3, 1781. The original draft of this letter is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

small portion of the pay due it contributed not a little to irritate them.

Ordered the Jersey Militia, who were directed to assemble on the first instance at Morristown to Dobbs ferry and there join the remains of the Jersey Brigade and receiving letters from Govr. Clinton and Genl. Clinton [1] complaining that none of the Massachusetts Militia had repaired to Albany agreeable to my requisition I again addressed Govr. Hancock in pointed terms [2] to send them on and complained of not having recd. answers from him to any of my letters since the Conference with Count de Rochambeau and a communication of the plan of operation which was agreed on at Weathersfield the 22d. of May last.

Received a Letter from the Count de Barras,[3] referring me to one written by him to Genl. Rochambeau in Cypher; pointing in stronger terms than heretofore, his disinclination to leave Newport till the arrival of Adml. de Grasse. This induced me to desist from further representing the advantages which would result from preventing a junction of the enemy's force at New York; and blocking up those which are now in Virginia, lest in the attempt any disaster should happen and the loss of; or damage to his fleet, should be ascribed to my obstinacy in urging a measure to which his own judgment was oppos'd and the execution of which might impede his junction with the West India fleet and thwart the views of the Count de Grasse upon this

[1] Governor George Clinton's letter of July 28th and Brigadier-General James Clinton's of July 20th. The originals of both are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] July 30th. The original draft is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The pointed terms were: 'I am induced again to trouble your Excellency with my most earnest request that if your orders in consequence of my requisitions of the 25th of June, have not yet issued, that they may immediately be sent forward.'

[3] July 25th. Original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, together with Tench Tilghman's translation of Barras' letter to Rochambeau (July 25th), here referred to.

Coast; especially as he gave it as a clear opinion, that the West India fleet might be expected by the 10th. of Next Month.

31*st.* Governor Trumbull informed me that in order to facilitate the Collecting of a Specie Tax for the purpose of sending Money to the Troops of the Connecticut line Gentlemen were sent to the different Towns of the State to try by personal influence and exertion to hasten it to the army [1] and that he and some of his Council had removed to Hartford to forward on the Recrts. for the Continental Regiments and the Militia and in a word to promote the operations of the Campaign as much as in them lay.

AUGUST

1*st.* By this date all my Boats were ready, viz — one hundred New ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Genel. Schuyler) and the like number at Wappings Creek by the Qr. Mr. Genl.; besides old ones which have been repaired. My heavy Ordnance and Stores from the Eastward had also come on to the North Rivr. and every thing would have been in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York, if the States had furnished their quotas of men agreeably to my requisitions; but so far have they been from complying with these that of the first not more than half the number asked of them have joined the Army and of 6200 of the latter pointedly and continuously called for to be with the army by the 15th of last Month, only 176 had arrived from Connecticut, independant of abt. 300 State Troops under the Command of Genl. Waterbury, which had been on the lines before we

[1] On August 8th, Trumbull informed Washington that, as a result of these measures, £3500 in gold and silver had been collected and that it would await his orders at Danbury on August 15th.

took the field, and two Companies of York levies (abt. 80 Man) under similar circumstances.

Thus circumstanced, and having little more than general assurances of getting the succours called for and energetic Laws and Resolves energetically executed, to depend upon, with little appearance of their fulfilment, I could scarce see a ground upon wch. to continue my preparations against New York; especially as there was much reason to believe that part (at least) of the Troops in Virginia were recalled to reinforce New York and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had before done) to an operation to the Southward and, in consequence, sent to make inquiry, indirectly, of the principal Merchants to the Eastward what number, and what time, Transports could be provided to convey a force to the Southward [1] if it should be found necessary to change our plan and similar application was made in a direct way to Mr. Morris [2] (Financier) to discover what number cd. be had by the 20th. of this month at Philadelphia, or in Chesapeak bay. At the same time General Knox was requested to turn his thoughts to this business and make every necessary arrangement for it in his own mind, estimating the ordnance and Stores which would be wanting and how many of them could be obtained without a transport of them from the North River. Measures were also taken to deposit the Salt provisions in such places as to be Water born, more than these, while there remained a hope of Count de Grasse's bringing a land force with him, and that the States might yet put us in circumstances to prosecute the original plan could not be

[1] These inquiries seem to have been made verbally as no written record of them exists in the Washington Papers.

[2] The letter to Robert Morris, dated August 27th, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, in draft form, in the handwriting of Tench Tilghman. It is printed in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 9, p. 353. Morris's reply, also in the Washington Papers, is dated August 28th and is printed in Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. 3, p. 394.

done without unfolding matters too plainly to the enemy and enabling them thereby to counteract our Schemes.

4*th.* Fresh representations of the defenceless State of the Northern frontier, for want of the Militia so longed called for, and expected from Massachusetts bay, accompanied by a strong expression of the fears of the People that they should be under the necessity of abandoning that part of the Country and an application that the Second York Regiment (Courtlandts)[1] at *least* should be left for their protection induced me to send Major Genl. Lincoln (whose influence in his own State was great) into the Counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to enquire into the causes of these delays and to hasten on the Militia. I wrote at the same time to the Governor of this State[2] consenting to suffer the 4 Companies of Courtlandts Regiment (now at Albany) to remain in that Quarter till the Militia did come in, but observed that if the States instead of filling their Battalions and sending forth their Militia were to be calling upon, and expecting me to dissipate the sml. operating force under my command for local defences that all offensive operations must be relinquished and we must content ourselves (in case of compliance) to spend an inactive and injurious Campaign which might, at this critical moment, be ruinous to the common cause of America.

6*th.* Reconnoitred the Roads and Country between the North River and the Brunxs from the Camp to Philips's[3] and Valentine's Hill and found the ground every where strong, the Hills 4 in Number running parallel to each other with deep Ravines between them, occasioned by the

[1] Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, Second New York Regiment.

[2] Washington's letter, in draft form, is dated August 5th, and is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] Philipse Manor House.

Saw Mill River, the Sprain branch [1] and another more Easterly. These hills have very few interstices or Breaks in them, but are more prominent in some places than others. The Saw Mill River, and the Sprain branch occasion an entire seperation of the hills above Philips's from those below commonly called Valentines hills; a strong position might be taken with the Saw Mill (by the Widow Babcocks) [2] in Front, and on the left flank and the No. River on the Right Flank, and this position may be extended from the Saw Mill River over the sprain.

A Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette the 26th Ulto.[3] gives the following acct. That two Battalions of light Infantry, Queens Rangers,[4] the Guards and one or two other Regiments had Embarked at Portsmouth and fallen down to Hampton Rd.[5] in 49 Transports; that he supposed this body of Troops could not consist of less than 2000 Men. That Chesapeak bay and Potomack River were spoken of as the destination of this detachment, but he was of opinion that it was intended as a Reinforcement to New York. Horses were laid for the speedy communication of Intelligence and an officer was to be sent with the acct. of the Fleets sailing.

7th. Urged Governor Greene [6] of Rhode Island to keep up the number of Militia required of that State at Newport and to have such arrangements made of the rest as to give instant and effectual support to that Post, and the Shipping in the harbour, in case anything should be enterprized

[1] Sprain Branch, of the Bronx River.

[2] Widow of the Reverend Luke Babcock; her house was about five miles below Dobbs' Ferry.

[3] Original in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[4] Queen's American Rangers, a loyalist regiment, known also as the First American Regiment, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe.

[5] Hampton Roads, mouth of the James River.

[6] Governor William Greene; held office 1778–86.

against the latter upon the arrival of Rodney;[1] who, with the British fleet, is said to be expected at New York, and in conjunction with the Troops which are Embarked in Virginia and their own Marines are sufficient to create alarms.

8*th.* The light Company of the 2d. York Regiment (the first having been down some days) having joined the Army, were formed with two Companies of Yk. levies into a Battn. under the Command of Lieutt. Colo. Hamilton[2] and Major Fish[3] and placed under the orders of Colo. Scammell as part of the light Troops of the Army.

9*th.* A Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette of the 30th. Ulto.[4] reports, that the Embarkation in Hampton Road still remained there, that there was 30 Ships full of Troops chiefly Red Coats in the fleet; that Eight or ten other Vessels (Brigs) had Cavalry on Board; that the Winds had been extremely favourable, notwithstanding which they still lay at anchor and that the Charon and several other frigates (some said Seven) were with them as an escort. The Troops which he now speaks of as comprising the detachment are — the light Infantry, Queens Rangers and he thinks two British German Regiments, no mention of the Guards as in his former acct.

10*th.* Ordered the first York and Hazens Regiments immediately to this place from West Point. The Invalids having got in both from Philadelphia and Boston and more Militia got in from Connecticut, as also some from

[1] George Brydges Rodney, Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief, British Navy in West Indies. He defeated De Grasse off Martinique in April, 1782.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, then serving in the Light Infantry, under Colonel Alexander Scammell.

[3] Major Nicholas Fish, Second New York Regiment.

[4] Original in Washington Papers, Library of Congress, and printed in Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. 3, p. 364.

Massachusetts bay, giving with 4 Companies of Courtlandts Regiment in addition to the detachment left there upon the March of the Army perfect security to the Posts.

11*th*. Robt. Morris Esqr. Superintendant of Finance and Richard Peters Esqr.[1] a Member of the Board of War, arrived at Camp to fix with me the number of Men necessary for the next Campaign and to make the consequent arrangements for the establishment and Support.

A Fleet consisting of about 20 Sail, including 2 frigates and one or two prizes, arrived within the harbour of New York with German Recruits, to the amount, by Rivington,[2] 2880 but by other and better information to abt. 1500 sickly Men.

12[*th*]. By accounts this day received from the Marqs. de la Fayette[3] it appeared that the Transports in Hampton Road had stood up the Bay and came too at the distance of 15 Miles and, in conseqe. he had commenced his March towards Fredericksburg, that he might more readily oppose his operations on Potomack or up Chesapeak bay.

14*th*. Received dispatches from the Count de Barras[4] announcing the intended departure of the Count de Grasse

[1] Richard Peters, Secretary of the Board of War and, afterwards, delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress, Judge of the District Court of Pennsylvania.

[2] James Rivington, New York, printer and publisher. He was a tory during the Revolution; was appointed King's printer in 1777, and published the *Royal Gazette* in New York City, 1877–83. He remained in New York after it was evacuated by the British and changed the name of his paper to *Rivington's New York Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*. He could not recover from the effects of his course during the war and was unable to continue his news-sheet. He died in comparative poverty in 1802.

[3] Letter of August 1st. Original in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[4] August 8th. Original in the Washington Papers, as above.

from cape Francois [1] with between 25 and 29 Sail of the line and 3200 land Troops on the 3d. Instant for Chesapeak bay and the anxiety of the latter to have every thing in the most perfect readiness to commence our operations in the moment of his arrival as he should be under a necessity from particular engagements with the Spaniards to be in the West Indies by the Middle of October, at the same time intimating his (Barras's) Intentions of enterprizing something against Newfoundland, and against which both Genl. Rochambeau and myself Remonstrated as impolitic and dangerous under the probability of Rodneys coming up this Coast.

Matters having now come to a crisis and a decisive plan to be determined on, I was obliged, from the shortness of Count de Grasses. promised stay on this Coast, the apparent disinclination in their Naval Officers to force the harbour of New York and the feeble compliance of the States to my requisitions for Men, hitherto, and little prospect of greater exertion in the future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; and instead thereof to remove the French Troops and a detachment from the American Army to the Head of Elk [2] to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of co-operating with the force from the West Indies against the Troops in that State.

15[*th*]. Dispatched a Courier to the Marquis de la Fayette [3] with information of this matter, requesting him to be in perfect readiness to second my views and to prevent if possible the Retreat of Cornwallis towards Carolina. He was also directed to Halt the Troops under the Command of General Wayne if they had not made any great progress in their March to join the Southern Army.

[1] Cape François, San Domingo.

[2] Head of Elk, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, Maryland.

[3] Letter of August 15th. Original in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, and printed in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 9, p. 334.

16*th.* Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette [1] and others, inform that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River and landed at York and Gloucester Towns where they were throwin up Works on the 6th. Inst.

19*th.* The want of Horses, or bad condition of them in the French Army delayed the March till this day; the same causes, it is to be feared, will occasion a slow and disagreeable March to Elk if fresh horses cannot be procured and better management of them adopted.

The detachment from the American [Army] is composed of the light Infantry under Scammell, two light companies of York to be joined by the like Number from the Connecticut line, the Remainder of the Jersey line, two Regiments of York, Hazens Regiment and the Regiment of Rhode Island, together with Lambs Regiment of Artillery [2] with Cannon and other Ordnance for the field and Siege.

Hazens Regiment being thrown over at Dobbs' ferry was ordered with the Jersey Troops to March and take Post on the heights between Springfield and Chatham [3] and cover a french Bakery at the latter place to veil our real movements and create apprehensions for Staten Island.

The Quarter Master Genl. was dispatched to Kings ferry, the only secure passage, to prepare for the speedy transportation of the Troops across the River.

Passed Sing sing [4] with the American column. The French column Marched by the way of Northcastle, Crompond,[5] and Pinesbridge,[6] being near ten miles further.

[1] August 6th, from Lafayette. Original in Washington Papers, as above, and printed in Sparks, *Correspondence of American Revolution.*, vol. 3, p. 366.

[2] Colonel John Lamb, Second Continental Artillery.

[3] Springfield and Chatham, Essex County, New Jersey.

[4] Sing Sing, on east bank of the Hudson, in Westchester County, about thirty-three miles above New York City. The place is now called Ossining.

[5] Crompond, Westchester County, about eight miles from Verplanck's Point.

[6] Pinesbridge, or Pine Bridge, same as New Bridge, Croton River.

20*th.* The head of the Americans arrived at Kings ferry about ten o'clock and immediately began to cross.

21*st.* In the course of this day the whole of the American Troops, all their baggage, artillery and Stores, crossed the River; nothing remained of ours but some Waggons in the Commissarys. and Qr. Mr. Generals departmt. which were delayed, that no interruption might be given to the passage of the French Army.

During the passing of the French Army I mounted 30 flat Boats (able to carry about 40 Men each) upon carriages, as well with a design to deceive the enemy [1] as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there.

Some of the french Artillery wch. preceeded their Infantry got to the ferry and crossed it also.

22*d.*, 23*d.*, 24*th. and* 25*th.* Employed in transporting the French Army, its baggage and Stores over the River.

The 25*th* the American Troops Marched in two Columns. Genl. Lincoln with the light Infantry and first York Regiment pursuing the Rout by Peramus [2] to Springfield, while Colo. Lamb with his Regiment of Artillery, the Parke Stores [3] and Baggage of the Army covered by the Rhode Island Regt. proceeded to Chatham by the way of Pompton [4] and the two bridges.

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Trumbull, entered in his diary, August 21st: '. . . By these maneuvres and the correspondent march of the Troops, our own army no less than the Enemy are completely deceived. No movement perhaps was ever attended with more conjectures, or such as were more curious than this. Some were indeed laughable enow'; but not one, I believe, penetrated the real design.' (Printed in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. 14, p. 332.)

[2] Paramus, Bergen County, New Jersey.

[3] 'Parke Stores,' meaning the stores of the artillery park, or camp.

[4] Pompton, Passaic County, New Jersey; the two bridges were over a branch of the Passaic River.

The Legion of Lauzen and the Regiment of Bourbonne and Duponts [1] with the heavy Parke of the French Army also Marched for percipony [2] ferry by Suffrans,[3] Pompton and

The *26th* the remainder of the French Army, its baggage and Stores, moved from the ferry and arrived at Suffrans, the ground the others had left.

28th. The American columns and 1st division of the French Army arrived at the places assigned them.

29th. The Second division of French joined the first, the whole halted, as well for the purpose of bringing up our Rear, as because we had heard not of the arrival of Count de Grasse and was unwilling to discover our real object to the enemy.

30th. As our intentions could be concealed one March more (under the idea of Marching to Sandy Hook to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet within the Bay), the whole Army was put in motion in three columns; the left consisted of the light Infantry, first York Regiment, and the Regiment of Rhode Island; the Middle column consisted of the Parke, Stores and Baggage, Lambs Regt. of Artillery, Hazens and the Corps of Sappers and Miners; the Right column consisted of the whole French Army, Baggage, Stores &ca. This last was to march by the Rout of Morristown, Bullions Tavern,[4] Somerset Ct.

[1] Royal Deux Ponts Regiment. Organized in 1757. Christian de Forbach, Comte de Deux Ponts, was colonel.

[2] Parsippany, Morris County, New Jersey; about seven miles northeast of Morristown.

[3] Suffern's Tavern, at the entrance to Smith's Cove, a valley or gorge behind the West Point mountains, in Rockland County, New York, near the New Jersey line.

[4] Bullion's Tavern, on the road between Whippany and Somerset Court-House, New Jersey.

House [1] and Princeton.[2] The Middle was to go by Bound brooke to Somerset &ca. and the left to proceed by the way of Brunswick [3] to Trenton, to which place the whole were to March, Transports being ordered to meet them there.

I set out myself for Philadelphia to arrange matters there, provide Vessels and hasten the transportation of the Ordnance, Stores, &ca. directing before I set out, the secd. York Regiment (which had not all arrived from Albany before we left Kings ferry) to follow with the Boats, Intrenching Tools &ca. the French Rear to Trenton.

31*st.* Arrived at Philadelphia to dinner and immediately hastened up all the Vessels that could be procured; but finding them inadequate to the purpose of transporting both Troops and Stores, Count de Rochambeau and myself concluded it would be best to let the Troops march by land to the head of Elk, and gave directions accordingly to all but the 2d. York Regiment which was ordered (with its baggage) to come down in the Batteaux they had in charge to Christiana bridge.[4]

SEPTEMBER

5th. The rear of the French Army having reached Philadelphia and the American's having passed it. The Stores having got up and everything in a tolerable train here: I left this City for the head of Elk to hasten the Embarkation at that place and on my way (at Chester) received the agreeable news of the safe arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Bay of Chesapeake with 28 Sail of the line and four frigates, with 3000 land Troops [5] which were to be im-

[1] Somerset, or Sumerset County, New Jersey, about thirty-seven miles from New York City.

[2] Princeton, New Jersey.

[3] Brunswick, New Brunswick, Middlesex County, New Jersey.

[4] Christiana Bridge, New Castle County, Delaware.

[5] The troops brought by de Grasse were the Régiment d'Agenois; the Régi-

mediately debarked at James town and form a junction with the American Army under the command of the Marqs. de la Fayette.

Finding upon my arrival at the head of Elk a great deficiency of Transports, I wrote many letters to Gentn. of Influence on the Eastern Shore,[1] beseeching them to exert themselves in drawing forth every kind of Vessel which would answer for this purpose and agreed with the Count de Rochambeau that about 1000 American Troops (including the Artillery Regiment) and the Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Brigade of Bourbonne and the Infantry of Lauzen's legion should be the first to Embark and that the rest of the Troops should continue their March to Baltimore proceeding thence by Land, or Water according to circumstances.

The Cavalry of Lauzen, with the Saddle horses and such teams of both Armies as the Qr. Masters thereof might judge necessary to go round by Land to the place of operation.

Judging it highly expedient to be with the Army in Virginia as soon as possible, to make the necessary arrangements for the siege, and to get the Materials prepared for it, I determined to set out for the Camp of the Marqs. de la Fayette without loss of time and accordingly in Company with the Count de Rochambeau who requested to attend me, and the Chevr. de Chastellux set out on the

ment Touraine, and the Régiment Gatinais. This last regiment had been in America before and had fought savagely at the siege of Savannah in 1779. It was organized in 1776 from the 2d and 4th battalions of the Régiment Auvergne. Its record at the siege of Yorktown was such that by the King's order it was renamed the Royal-Auvergne.

[1] Eastern Shore of Maryland. The letters were in the nature of a circular, the same wording in each one, which urged the recipient to use all efforts to forward all available water craft at once to Baltimore to aid in the transportation of the troops. The idea conveyed was that success of the entire movement depended in large measure on obtaining this shipping. The circular was sent to Nicholas Thomas, Richard Barnaby, Colonel James Hindman, James Lloyd Chamberlain, Robert Goldborough, James Braceo, and Christopher Birchead.

8*th.* and reached Baltimore where I recd. and answered an address of the Citizen's.[1]

9*th.* I reached my own Seat at Mount Vernon [2] (distant 120 Miles from the Hd. of Elk) where I staid till the 12th. and in three days afterwards that is on the 15th. reached Williamsburg. The necessity of seeing and agreeing upon a proper plan of co-operation with the Count de Grasse induced me to make him a visit at Cape Henry [3] where he lay with his fleet after a partial engagement with the British Squadron off the Capes under the Command of Admiral Graves [4] whom he had driven back to Sandy hook.

17*th.* In company with the Count de Rochambeau, the Chevr. Chastellux, Genls. Knox and Duportail I set out for the Interview with the Admiral and arrived on board the Ville de Paris [5] (off Cape Henry) the next day by noon and having settled most points with him to my satisfaction

[1] The address of the citizens of Baltimore was merely a congratulatory one. It is preserved in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] This was the first time Washington had seen Mount Vernon since May 4, 1775. From here he wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette, September 10, 1781:

We are thus far, my Dear Marquis, on our way to you. The Count de Rochambeau has just arrived; General Chastellux will [soon] be here & we propose (after resting tomorrow) to be at Fredericksburg on the night of the 12th. — the 13th. we shall reach New Castle & the next day we expect the pleasure of seeing you at your Encampment.

Should there be any danger as we approach you, I shall be obliged if you will send a party of Horse towards New Kent Court House to meet us. With great personal regard & affection, I am, thy Dear Marquis, Your Most Obedt. Servt.

Go. WASHINGTON.

P.S. I hope you will keep Lord Cornwallis safe, without Provisions or Forage until we arrive. Adieu.

[3] Cape Henry, Virginia.

[4] Thomas, Lord Graves, Rear Admiral, British Navy. The naval action with de Grasse, though indecisive as an action, resulted in such damage to the British squadron that Graves put back to New York to refit. This was the same as victory for the French, for before another fleet could be sent from New York Cornwallis's power to continue the siege had been broken and he surrendered.

[5] La Ville de Paris, Comte de Grasse's flagship. The next year, 1782, de Grasse was defeated by Rodney, off Martinique, and the Ville de Paris was sunk. In the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, are the questions proposed to de Grasse by Washington at this interview, with the French admiral's answers

except not obtaining an assurance of sending Ships above York and one that he could not continue his fleet on this Station longer than the first of November I embarked on board the Queen Charlotte [1] (the Vessel I went down in) but by hard blowing and contrary Winds, did not reach Williamsburg again till the 22d.

22*d*. Upon my arrival in Camp I found that the 3d Maryland Regiment had got in (under the command of Colo. Adam [2]) and that all except a few missing Vessels with the Troops from the head of Elk were arrived, and landing at the upper point of College Creek,[3] where Genl. Choisy [4] with 600 F. Troops who had from R: Isld. had arrived in the Squadron of Count de Barras had done before them during my absence.[5]

25*th*. Admiral de Barras having joined the Count de Grasse with the Squadron and transports from Rhode Island, and the latter with some Frigates being sent to Baltimore for the Remts. of the French Army arrived this day at the usual point of debarkation above the College Creek and began to land the Troops from them.

28*th*. Having debarked all the Troops and their Baggage, Marched and Encamped them in Front of the City [6] and having with some difficulty obtained horses and Waggons sufficient to move our field artillery, Intrenching Tools

thereto, in the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., and Tench Tilghman. A copy, in French, signed by de Grasse, is also among those papers.

[1] By water in the Queen Charlotte, a British prize that had been captured by the French and was used as a tender.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Adams, Third Maryland Regiment.

[3] A branch of the James River, then navigable almost to Williamsburg.

[4] Claude Gabriel, Duc de Choisy, Brigadier-General, French Army in America.

[5] This sentence involved in the original. The meaning is that Choisy's troops had reached College Creek before the missing vessels and that both groups had arrived during Washington's absence.

[6] City of Williamsburg.

and such other articles as were indispensibly necessary, we commenced our March for the Investiture of the Enemy at York.

The American Continental and French Troops formed one column on the left, the first in advance; the Militia composed the Right column and Marched by the way of Harwoods Mill; half a mile beyond the half way H[ous]e. the French and Americans seperated, the former continued on the direct Road to York by the Brick House, the latter filed of to the right for Murfords bridge[1] where a junction with the Militia was to be made. About Noon the head of each column arrived at its ground and some of the enemy's Picquets were driven in on the left by a Corps of French Troops, advanced for the purpose, which afforded an oppertunity of reconnoitering them on their Right, The enemy's Horse on the right were also obliged to retire from the ground they had Encamped on, and from whence they were employed in reconnoitering the right column.

The line being formed, all the Troops, Officers and Men, lay upon their arms during the Night.

29*th*. Moved the American Troops more to the Right, and Encamped on the East side of Bever dam Creek,[2] with a Morass in front, about Cannon shot from the enemys lines. Spent this day in reconnoitering the enemys position, and determining upon a plan of attack and approach which must be done without the assistance of the Shipping above the Town as the admiral (not withstanding my earnest sollicitation) declined hazarding any Vessels on that Station.

30*th*. The Enemy abandoned all their exterior works and the position they had taken without the Town; and retired

[1] Murford's Bridge over Skiff Creek. (*Toner.*)
[2] Beaver Dam Creek, a branch of Wormley's Creek.

within their Interior works of defence in the course of last Night. Immediately upon which we possessed them, and made those on our left (with a little alteration) very serviceable to us. We also began two inclosed Works on the right of Pidgeon Hill [1] — between that and the Ravine above Mores Mill.

[OCTOBER]

From this time till the 6th of October nothing occurred of Importance. Much deligence was used in debarking and transporting the Stores, Cannon, &ca. from Trebells Landing (distant 6 Miles) on James Rivr. to Camp; which for want of Teams went on heavily and in preparing Fascines,[2] Gabions &ca. for the Siege, as also in reconnoitering the Enemys defences, and their situation as perfectly as possible, to form our parrallels and mode of attack.

The Teams which were sent round from the head of Elk, having arrived about this time, we were enabled to bring forward our heavy artillery and Stores with more convenience and dispatch and everything being prepared for opening Trenches 1500 Fatigue men[3] and 2800 to cover them, were ordered for this Service.

6th. Before Morning the Trenches were in such forwardness as to cover the Men from the enemys fire. The work was executed with so much secrecy and dispatch that the enemy were, I believe, totally ignorant of our labor till the light of the Morning discovered it to them. Our loss on this occassion was extremely inconsiderable, not more than one Officer (french) and about 20 Men killed and wounded; the Officer and 15 of which were on our left from the Corps

[1] Pidgeon, or Pigeon, Hill, two miles southwest of Yorktown.

[2] Fascines: fagots used in constructing earthworks; gabions: bottomless wicker baskets to be filled with earth or sand and used for rapidly building an earthwork; they furnished an excellent protection against small-arm fire.

[3] Fatigue men: men told off for manual labor.

of the Marqs. de St. Simond,[1] who was betrayed by a deserter from the Huzzer[2] that went in and gave notice of his approaching his parrallel.

7*th.* and 8*th.* Was employed in compleating our Parallel, finishing the Redoubts in them and establishing Batteries.

9*th.* About 3 o'clock P.M. the French opened a battery on our extreme left of 4 Sixteen pounders, and Six Morters and Howitzers and at 5 o'clock an American battery of Six 18s. and 24s.; four Morters and 2 Howitzers began to play[3] from the extremity of our right. Both with good effect as they compelled the Enemy to withdraw from their ambrazures the Pieces which had previously kept up a constant firing.

10*th.* The French opened two batteries on the left of our front parallel, one of 6 twenty four pounders, and 2 Sixteens with 6 Morters and Howitzers, the other of 4 Sixteen pounders and the Americans two Batteries between those last mentioned and the one on our extreme right the left of which containing 4 Eighteen pounders, the other two Mortars.

The whole of the batteries kept up an incessant fire, the Cannon at the Ambrazures of the enemy, with a view to destroy them, the Shells into the Enemy's Works, where by the information of deserters they did much execution.

The French battery on the left, by red hot shot, set fire

[1] Claude Anne, Marquis de Saint-Simon Montbléru, Colonel, Régiment Touraine, and in command of the troops brought from the West Indies by Comte de Grasse.

[2] A private of Lauzun's Legion, which was called the Huzzar Regiment.

[3] Thatcher's *Military Journal* states that Washington himself fired the first shot from the American battery.

to (in the course of the Night) the Charon frigate[1] and 3 large Transports which were entirely consumed.

11*th.* The French opened two other batteries on the left of the parallel, each consisting of 3 Twenty four pounders, these were also employed in demolishing the Ambrasures of the enemys works and advanced Redoubts.

Two Gentlemen, a Major Granchien[2] and Captn. D'Avilier[3] being sent by Admiral de Grasse to reconnoitre the Enemys Water defences and state of the River at and near York, seemed favourably disposed to adopt the measure which had been strongly urged of bringing ships above the Town and made representations accordingly to the Count de Grasse.

12*th.* Began our second parallel within abt. 300 yards (and in some places less) of the enemys lines and got it so well advanced in the course of the Night as to cover the Men before Morning. This business was conducted with the same secresy as the former and undertaken so much sooner than the enemy expected (we should commence a second parallel) that they did not by their conduct and mode of firing, appear to have had any suspicion of our Working parties till day light discovered them to their Picquets nor did they much annoy the Trenches; in the course of this day (the Parallel being opened last Night from the Ravene in front, and on the Right flank of the Enemy) till it came near to the intersection of the line of fire from the American 4 Gun Battery to the enemy's advanced redoubt on their left. The French Batteries fired over the second parallel.

[1] The Charon, British frigate, was useless to Cornwallis and her guns had been taken off and mounted in the Yorktown defenses.

[2] Grandchain, Chevalier de, Major et chargé du detail général de l'escadre du roy du Ternay.

[3] Captain D'Avilier. This name does not appear in the available lists of de Grasse's fleet officers.

13*th.* The fire of the enemy this Night became brisk, both from their Cannon and Royals[1] and more injurious to us than it had been; several men being killed and many wounded in the Trenches but the Works were not in the smallest degree retarded by it. Our batteries were begun in the course of the night and a good deal advanced.

14*th.* The day was spent in compleating our parallel, and maturing the Batteries of the second parallel. The old batteries were principally directed against the Abattis and salient angles of the enemys advanced redoubts on their extreme Right and left to prepare them for the intended assault for which the necessary dispositions were made for attacking the two on the left and,

At half after Six in the Evening both were carried; that on their left (on the Bank of the River) by the Americans and the other by the French Troops. The Baron Viomenil[2] commanded the left attack and the Marqs. de la Fayette the Right on which the light Infantry were employed.

In the left redoubt (assaulted by the Americans) there were abt. 45 men under the command of a Major Campbell;[3] of which the Major, a Captn. and Ensign, with 17 Men were made Prisoners. But few were killed on the part of the Enemy and the remainder of the Garrison escaped. The right Redoubt attacked by the French, consisted of abt. 120 Men, commanded by a Lieutenant Colo. of these 18 were killed, and 42 taken Prisoners, among the Prisoners were a Captain and two Lieutenants. The bravery exhibited by the attacking Troops was emulous and praise worthy. Few cases have exhibited stronger proofs of Intripidity, coolness and firmness than were shown upon this

[1] Royals: small mortars.

[2] Antoine Charles de Houx, Baron de Viomésnil, Maréchal-de-camp, French Army in America.

[3] There was at Yorktown a Major James and a Major Patrick Campbell, both of the Seventy-First Foot.

occasion. The following is our loss in these attacks and since the Investure of York. —

PERIODS	AMERICAN																TOTAL
	KILLED								WOUNDED								
From ye Investe. to openg. 1st. parall.	Colo.	Lt. Col.	Maj.	Captn.	C. Lieut.	Lieut.	Sergt.	R. & F.	Colo.	Lt. Col.	Maj.	Captn.	C. Lieut.	Lieut.	Sergt.	R. & F.	
To the opening of the 2d. parall.	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..14
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	.. 8
To the Storm on the 14th.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	14	..22
At the Storm.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	2	1	2	1	1	1	28	..44
Total.....	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	20	..	2	1	3	1	1	1	56	..88

The loss of the French from the Investiture to the assault of the Redoubts Inclusive is as follows. — viz —

Officers — killed.....		2	
	wounded.....	7	9
Soldiers	Killed.....	50	
	Wounded.....	127	177
	Total.....		186

15*th.* Busily employed in getting the Batteries of the Second parallel compleated, and fixing on New ones contiguous to the Redoubts which were taken last Night. Placed two Howitzers in each of the Captured Redoubts wch. were opened upon the enemy about 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

16*th.* About four O'clock this Morning the enemy made a Sortie upon our Second parallel and spiked four French pieces of Artillery and two of ours, but the guards of the

Trenches advancing quickly upon them they retreated precipitately. The Sally being made upon that part of the parallel which was guarded by the French Troops they lost an officer and 12 Men killed 1 officer taken prisoner. The American loss was one Sergeant of Artillery (in the American battery) Wounded. The Enemy, it is said, left 10 dead and lost 3 Prisoners.

About 4 o'clock this afternoon the French opened two Batteries of 2. 23s. and four 16s. each. 3 pieces from the American grand battery were also opened, the others not being ready.

17*th*. The French opened another Battery of four 24s. and two 16s. and a Morter Battery of 10 Morters and two Howitzers. The American grand Battery consisting of 12 twenty four and Eighteen prs. 4 Morters and two Howitzers.

About ten o'clock the Enemy beat a parley,[1] and Lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of Hostilities for 24 hours,[2] that Commissioners might meet at the house of a Mr. Moore[3] (in the rear of our first parallel) to settle terms, for the surrender of the Posts of York and Gloucester. To this he was answered, that a desire to spare the further effusion of Blood would readily incline me to treat of the surrender of the above Posts, but previous to the meeting of Commissioners I wished to have his proposals in writing and

[1] A British drummer appeared on the parapet, under the protection of a white flag, and beat the recognized parley measure upon his drum.

[2] Cornwallis's letter of October 17 is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Its inadmissible terms were, practically, those proposed by Burgoyne, in 1777, and allowed by Gates, although the word 'convention' was not used by Cornwallis. But in this instance the British were not dealing with a Gates, and the suave suggestion that the British troops be allowed to return to England and the German troops to Germany, under parole not to serve again during the war, was summarily refused. Washington's reply to Cornwallis, October 18th, giving the general basis of terms that would be granted, is also in the Washington Papers.

[3] Usually referred to as the Moore House.

for this purpose would grant a cessation of hostilities two hours. Within which time he sent out A letter with such proposal (tho' some of them were inadmissible) as led me to believe that there would be no great difficulty in fixing the terms. Accordingly hostilities were suspended for the Night and I proposed my own terms to which if he agreed Commissioners were to meet to digest them into form.

18*th.* The Commissioners met accordingly; but the business was so procrastinated by those on their side (a Colo. Dundas[1] and Major Ross[2]) that Colo. Laurens and the Viscount De Noailles[3] who were appointed on our part could do no more than make the rought draft of the Articles[4] which were to be submitted for Lord Cornwalliss. consideration.

19*th.* In the Morning early I had them copied and sent word to Lord Cornwallis that I expected to have them signed at 11 o'clock and that the Garrison would March out at two o'clock, both of which were accordingly done. Two redoubts on the Enemys left being possessed (the one by a detachment of French Grenadiers, and the other by American Infantry) with orders to prevent all intercourse between the army and Country and the Town. — while Officers in the several departments were employed in taking acct. of the public Stores &ca.

20*th.* Winchester and Fort Frederick[5] in Maryland,

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Dundas, Eightieth Foot, British Army.

[2] Major Alexander Ross, aide to Cornwallis.

[3] Louis Marie, Vicomte de Noailles, Mestre-de-camp; colonel en second Régiment Soissonnais; brother-in-law of Lafayette.

[4] The Articles of Capitulation, signed by Cornwallis and Captain Thomas Symonds, commander of the British naval forces at Yorktown, are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. They were copied out for the British commanders by Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., an aide to Washington. A duplicate is in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

[5] Winchester, Virginia, and Frederick, Maryland. The number of British sur-

being the places destined for the Reception of the Prisoners they were to have commenced their March accordingly this day, but were prevented by the Commissary of Prisoners not having compleated his accounts of them and taken the Paroles of the Officers.

21*st.* The Prisoners began their March and I set out for the Fleet to pay my respects, and offer my thanks to the admiral for his important Services and to see if he could not be induced to further co-operations before his final departure from this Coast — despairing from the purport of my former conference with him, and the tenor of all his letters, of obtaining more than a Convoy, I contented myself with representing the import[ant] consequences and certain prospect of an attempt on Charlestown and requesting if his orders or other Engagements would not allow him to attend to that great object, that he would nevertheless transport a detachment of Troops to, and cover their debarkation at Wilmington[1] that by reducing the enemy's there we might give peace to another State with the troops that would afterwards join the Southern Army under the Command of Majr. Genl. Greene.

Having promised the Command of the detachment destined for the Enterprize, against Wilmington to Marqs. de la Fayette in case he would engage the Admiral to convoy it and secure the debarkation I left him on board the Ville de Paris to try the force of his influence to obtain these.

rendered is given as 7247; their loss during the siege was 353. The allied troops amounted, in round numbers, to 16,000, of which 7000 were French, 5500 were Continentals, and 3500 were militia. The allied loss during the operations was 274. These relatively small losses are measurably accounted for by the fact that the operations were those of a systematic siege. Only two storming assaults were necessary up to the time of the surrender. The artillery had reduced the British works to a mass of ruin and destroyed most of the cannon of the besieged. The way was open for the grand assault, by which the losses would have been increased, when the British surrendered.

[1] Wilmington, North Carolina.

23*d*. The Marqs. returned with assurances from the Admiral, that he would countenance, and protect with his fleet, the Expedition against Wilmington. Preparations were immediately [begun] for Embarking Wayne's and Gists[1] Brigades with a sufficiency of Artillery, Stores, and provisions for this purpose.

24*th*. Received advice, by Express from General Forman, of the British Fleet in the Harbour of New York consisting of 26 Sail of the line, some 50s. and 44s. Many frigates, fire ships and Transports amounting in the whole to 99 sail had passed the Narrows for the hook, and were as he supposed, upon the point of Sailing for the Chesapeak. Notice was immediately communicated to the Count de Grasse.

From this time to the 28th. was employed in collecting and taking an acct. of the different species of Stores which were much dispersed and in great disorder.

All the Vessels in public employ in the River James were ordered round for the purpose of receiving and transporting Stores &ca. to the Head of Elk.

28*th*. Began to Embark the Ordnance and Stores for the above purpose.

Received a Letter from the Count de Grasse,[2] declining the Convoy he had engaged to give the detachment for Wilmington and assigning his reasons for it. This after a suspence and consequent delay of 6. or 7 days obliged me to prepare to March the Troops by Land under the command of M. Genl St. Clair.

In the Evening of this day Intelligence was received from the Count de Grasse that the British fleet was off the

[1] Brigadier-General Mordecai Gist's Maryland brigade.

[2] October 26, 1781. A contemporary copy of this letter, attested by Lafayette, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Capes and consisted of 36 Ships, 25 of which were of the line and that he had hove out the Signal for all his People to come on board and prepare to Sail. but many of his Boats and hands being on shore it could not be effected.

29*th.* The British Fleet still appeared in the offing without the Capes, but the Wind being unfavourable, and other causes preventing, the French Fleet kept to their Moorings within. In the Evening of this day the former disappeared, and Count de Grasse engaged to remain a few days in the Bay[1] to cover the Water transport of our Stores and Troops up the Bay to the River Elk.

From this time to the 5th. of Novr. was employed in embarking the ordnance and Stores, and the Troops which were returning to the Northward, preparing the detachment for the Southward, providing Cloathing and Stores for the Army commanded by Majr. Genl. Greene, depositing a Magazine at Westham[2] for the use of the Southern States and making other necessary arrangements previous to the division of the army and my Return to the North River; also in Marching off 467 Convalescents from the British Hospital under escort of Courtlandts York Regiment for Fredericksburg on their way to join their respective Regiments at Winchester and Fort Frederick in Maryland.

NOVEMBER

5*th.* The detachment for the Southward, consisting as has been before observed, of Waynes and Gists Brigades (excepting such Men of the Maryland and Virginia lines

[1] This letter is dated October 29, 1781, and the original is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. It is printed in Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. 8, p. 197, footnote.

[2] Westham, on the James River, six miles above the falls.

whose terms of Service would expire before the first of Jany.) Began their March and were to be joined by all the Cavalry that could be equipped of the first, third and fourth Regimts. at[1]

[1] The diary comes to an abrupt close at this point and there is no evidence that it was ever carried forward. Washington left Yorktown this day and hastened to Eltham in time to be present at the death of John Parke Custis, who had contracted camp fever at the siege, while acting as a volunteer aide, without rank or pay, to the Commander-in-Chief.

1781

November 6–December 31

1782–1783

1784

January 1–August 31

Diaries not kept

1784

September 1–October 4

Original in Library of Congress

1784

SEPTEMBER

Having found it indispensably necessary to visit my Landed property West of the Apalachean Mountains,[1] and more especially that part of it which I held in Copartnership with Mr. Gilbert Simpson. — Having determined upon a tour into that Country, and having made the necessary preparations for it, I did, on the first day of this Month (September) set out on my journey.

Having dispatched my equipage about 9 O'clock A.M:, consisting of 3 Servants and 6 horses, three of which carried my Baggage, I set out myself in company with Doctor James Craik;[2] and after dinner at Mr. Sampson Trammells (abt. 2 Miles above the Falls Church)[3] we proceeded to Difficulty Bridge,[4] and lodged at one Shepherd's Tavern 25 Miles,

Sep. 2. About 5 O'clock we set out from Shepperds; and leaving the Baggage to follow slowly on, we arrived about 11 O'clock ourselves at Leesburgh, where we Dined.[5] The Baggage having joined [us] we proceeded to Mr. Israel Thompsons and lodged makg. abt. 36 M.

3d. Having business to transact with my Tenants in

[1] The bounty lands granted Washington by Virginia for his services in the French and Indian War. He had added to his holdings by purchase from some of his fellow officers and soldiers who wished to convert their land into cash immediately.

[2] Bushrod Washington and William Craik also accompanied him.

[3] Fairfax County.

[4] Difficult Bridge, across Difficult Run, which empties into the Potomac, from the south, a short distance below Great Falls.

[5] At Roper's Tavern. At Leesburg, Washington purchased a horse-bell and a frying-pan; two handy articles for a camping trip.

Berkeley; and others who were directed to meet me at my Brother's (Colo. Charles Washington's), I left Doctr. Craik and the Baggage to follow slowly, and set out myself about Sun Rise for that place — where after Breakfasting at Keys's ferry [1] I arrived about 11 O'clock. — distant abt. 17 Miles.

Colo. Warner Washington,[2] Mr. Wormeley,[3] Genl. Morgan,[4] Mr. Trickett [5] and many other Gentlemen came here to see me — and one object of my journey being to obtain information of the nearest and best communication between the Eastern and Western Waters; and to facilitate as much as in me lay the Inland Navigation of the Potomack; I conversed a good deal with Genl. Morgan on this subject, who said, a plan was in contemplation to extend a Road from Winchester to the Western Waters, to avoid if possible an interference with any other State. but I could not discover that Either himself, or others, were able to point it out with precision. He seemed to have no doubt but that the Counties of Frederk., Berkeley and Hampshire would contribute freely towards the extension of the Navigation of Potomack; as well as towards opening a Road from East to West.

4th. Having finished my business with my Tenants (so far at least as partial payments could put a close to it) [6] and provided a Waggon [7] for the transportation of my Baggage to the Warm springs (or Town of Bath) to give relief to my Horses, which from the extreme heat of the

[1] On the Shenandoah River.

[2] Colonel Warner Washington, son of John Washington and uncle to George.

[3] Ralph Wormley.

[4] Brigadier-General Daniel Morgan.

[5] Thomas (?) Trickett.

[6] These partial payments of rent amounted to £91 12*s.* 0*d.* and were paid by Thomas Griggs, David Fulton, Samuel Scratchfield, and Henry Whiting.

[7] This wagon was hired from W. Granthum. He was paid £2 2*s.* for it and his services for seven days.

Weather began to Rub and gaul, I set out after dinner, and reached Captn. Stroads a Substantial farmers betwn. Opecken Creek [1] and Martinsburgh [2] — distant by estimation 14 Miles from my Brothers.

Finding the Captn. an intelligent Man, and one who had been several times in the Western Country — tho' not much on the communication between the North Branch of Potomack, and the Waters of Monongahela — I held much conversation with him — the result of which so far as it respected the object I had in view, was, that there are two Glades which go under the denomination of the Great glades — one, on the Waters of the Yohiogany, the other on those of Cheat River; and distinguished by the name of the Sandy Creek Glades. — that the Road to the first goes by the head of Pattersons Creek — that from the accts. he has had of it, it is rough; — the distance he knows not. That there is a way to the Sandy Creek Glades from the great crossing of Yohiogany (or Braddocks Road) [3] and a very good one; but how far the Waters of Potomack above Fort Cumberland, and the Cheat River from its Mouth are navigable, he professes not to know — and equally ignorant is he of the distance between them.

He says that old Captn. Thos. Swearengen has informed him, that the Navigable Water of the little Kanhawa comes within a small distance of the Navigable Waters of the Monongahela, and that a good Road, along the Ridge, may be had between the two and a young Man who we found at his House just (the Evening before) from Ken-

[1] Opequan Creek. [2] Now West Virginia.

[3] Braddock's Road, made by General Edward Braddock on his march toward Fort Duquesne. The old National Road from Cumberland followed practically the same line from Fort Cumberland (Will's Creek) to Fort Necessity; but at this point Braddock's Road turns almost due north (the National Road continues straight on), passes through the gap between Laurel and Chestnut Mountains, skirts the western slope of Chestnut's Ridge, and crosses the Youghiogheny at Stuart's Crossing (now Connellsville, Pennsylvania), also known then as the great crossing of the Youghiogheny.

tucke told us, that he left the Ohio River at Weeling [1] (Colo. David Shepperds) and in about 40 Miles came to Red Stone old Fort on the Monongahela, 50 Miles from its Mouth.

Captn. Strodes rout to the Westward having been for the most part by way of New River and the Hd'ston,[2] through (what is called) the Wilderness to Kentucke, he adds that when he went out last fall he passed through Staunton, by the Augusta Springs, the Sweet springs to the New River, 30. — in all, 103 from Staunton to the New River: from this part of the New River to the place called Chissels Mines,[3] is passable for Canoes and Batteaux with little difficulty; and from thence to the Roanoke where it is as large as the Opeckon near his house is only 12 Miles and a tolerably level country.

5th. Dispatched my Waggon (with the Baggage) at day light; and at 7 O'clock followed it. — bated at one Snodgrasses, on Back Creek and dined there; [4] about 3 Oclock P.M. we arrived at the Springs, or Town of Bath [5] after travelling the whole day through a drizling Rain, 30 Miles.

6th. Remained at Bath all day and was showed the Model of a Boat constructed by the ingenious Mr. Rumsey,[6] for ascending rapid currents by mechanism; the principles of

[1] Wheeling, West Virginia. [2] Holston River.

[3] Chissel's lead mine on New River was known as early as 1750.

[4] James Snodgrass. 'By dinner at Snoddgrass 17*s.* 6*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[5] Now Martinsburg, West Virginia.

[6] James Rumsey. This was Rumsey's first idea of mechanical propulsion of boats; later he evolved the application of steam as the motive power and shares, with John Fitch, the credit of being the inventor of the steamboat. Both Rumsey and Fitch worked out the problem independently of each other. Washington gave a certificate to Rumsey, of the above demonstration, a copy of which is to be found in the Washington Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress, under date of September 7, 1784. It is printed in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 10, p. 402.

this were not only shown, and fully explained to me, but to my very great satisfaction, exhibited in practice in private under the injunction of Secresy, untill he saw the effect of an application he was about to Make to the Assembly of this State, for a reward.

The Model, and its operation upon the water, which had been made to run pretty swift, not only convinced me of what I before thought next to, if not quite impracticable, but that it might be turned to the greatest possible utility in inland Navigation; and in rapid currents; that are shallow — and what adds vastly to the value of the discovery, is the simplicity of its works; as they may be made by a common boat builder or carpenter, and kept in order as easy as a plow, or any common impliment of husbandry on a farm.

Having obtained a Plan of this Town (Bath) and ascertained the situation of my lots therein, which I examined; it appears that the disposition of a dwelling House, Kitchen and Stable cannot be more advantageously placed than they are marked in the copy I have taken from the plan of the Town; to which I refer for recollection, of my design; and Mr. Rumsey being willing to undertake those Buildings, I have agreed with him to have them finished by the 10th of next July. The dwelling House is to be 36 feet by 24, with a gallery of 7 feet on each side of the House, the whole fronts, — under the House is to be a Cellar half the size of it, walled with Stone, and the whole underpined. — on the first floor are to be 3 rooms; one of them 24 by 20 feet, with a chimney at the end (middle thereof) the other two to be 12 by 16 feet with corner chimneys. — on the upper Floor there are to be two Rooms of equal sizes, with fire places; the Stair case to go up in the Gallery. — galleries above also. The Kitchen and Stable are to be of the same size — 18 by 22; the first with a stone Chimney and good floor above. — the Stable is to be sunk in the ground

so as that the floor above it on the North, or side next the dwelling House, shall be level with the Yard. — to have a partition therein. — the West part of which to be for a Carriage, Harness, and Saddles. — the East for Hay or Grain. — all three of the Houses to be shingled with

Meeting with the Revd. Mr. Balmain [1] at this place, he says the distance from Staunton to the Sweet Springs is *95* Miles; that is, 50 to what are commonly called the Augusta Springs and 45 afterwards — this differs widely from Captn. Strodes acct., and both say they have travelled the Road.

From Colo. Bruce [2] whom I also found at this place, I was informed that he had travelled from the North Branch of Potomack to the Waters of Yaughiogany, and Monongahela — that the Potomk. where it may be made Navigable — for instance where McCulloughs path [3] crosses it 40 Miles above the old fort (Cumberland), is but about 6 Miles to a pretty large branch of the Yohiogany, but how far it is practicable to make the latter navigable he knows not, never having explored it any length downwards. — that the Waters of Sandy Creek, which is a branch of Cheat River, which is a branch of Monongahela, interlocks with these; and the Country between, flat — that he

[1] The Reverend Alexander Balmain.

[2] Colonel Andrew Bruce, at one time an Associate Justice of Allegheny County.

[3] McCulloch's Path, so called from an Indian trader, whose first name seems to have been forgotten. He appears to have been almost the first of the pioneers to travel from Virginia to the Ohio Country. His path (as far as seems possible to trace it now) started from what is now Moorefield on the South Branch of the Potomac, crossed the Alleghanies into Maryland at what is now Mount Storm, passed the North Branch, as Washington notes (McCulloch's Crossing about two miles above the mouth of Stony Creek, West Virginia), and struck southwest along one of the then well-marked buffalo trails to the Ohio. In Preston County, West Virginia, the Path was sometimes referred to as the 'Eastern Trail.' McCulloch's Path seems to be confused at times with Nemacolin's Path, which ran from Will's Creek to Fort Pitt. Hulbert, *Washington and the West* (New York, 1905), p. 168, says there were two McCulloch's or McCullough's Paths. One led from Ice's Ferry and the other from Dunkard's Bottom, known as the 'Old' and the 'New' paths respectively.

thinks (in order to avd. passing through the State of Pennsylvania) this would be an eligible Road using the ten Miles Ck. with a portage to the Navigable Waters of the little Kanhawa; which from report he says, are only ten Miles apart — he adds that the distance from the North branch to Cheat Rivr. is great and from the South branch greater; but it is to be observed that most of this information is from report — vague — and not much to be depended upon; I therefore endeavoured to prevail upon Colo. Bruce to explore the Country from the North Branch of Potomack at McCulloughs path, or the highest practicable Navigation on it, to the Nearest Waters of Yohiogany — thence to Sandy Creek and down that to its junction with the Cheat River — laying the whole down by actual surveys and exact measurement; which he has promised to do, if he can accomplish it — on my part I have engaged, if a Surveyor can be obtained, to run the Water of the little Kanhawa from the Mouth to the highest Navigation — thence across to the ten miles Creek on the Monongahela, and up that to the Mo. of Sandy Creek, in order to connect the two Forks together, and form a proper plan with observations — and even to continue up the Cheat River further, to see if a better communication cannot be had with the Potomack than by Sandy Creek.

Having hired three Pack horses — to give my own greater relief — I sent my Baggage of this day about one Oclock, and ordered those who had charge of it, to proceed to one Headricks at 15 Miles Creek, distant abt. ten Miles, to night, and to the old Town [1] next day.

8*th.* Set out about 7 Oclock with the Doctr. (Craik) his Son William, and my Nephew Bushrod Washington, who were to make the tour with us. — about ten I parted with

[1] Old Town was in Maryland, nearly opposite the mouth of the South Branch of the Potomac.

them at 15 Miles Creek, and recrossed the Potomack (having passed it abt. 3 Miles from the Springs before) to a tract of mine on the Virginia Side which I find exceedingly Rich, and must be very valuable — the lower end of the Land is rich white oak in places springey; and in the winter wet. — the upper part is exceedingly rich and covered with Walnut of considerable size many of them. Note — I requested a Mr. McCraken at whose House I fed my horses, and got a snack,[1] and whose land joins mine — to offer mine to any who might apply for £10 the first year, £15 the next, and £25 the third — the Tenant not to remove any of the Walnut timber from off the Land; or to split it into Rails; as I should reserve that for my own use.

After having reviewed this Land I again crossed the River and getting into the Waggon Road pursued my journey to the old Town where I overtook my Company and baggage — lodged at Colo. Cresaps[2] abt. 35 Miles this day.

9th. Having discharged the hired Horses which were obtained at the Springs and hired one more *only* to supply the place of one of mine, whose back was much hurt, we had them loaded by Six oclock, and was about to set out when it began to Rain; which looking very likely to continue thro the day, I had the Loads taken of to await the issue.

At this place I met with a Man who lives at the Mouth of ten Miles Creek on Monongahela, who assured me, that this Creek is not Navigable for any kind of Craft a Mile from its Mouth; unless the Water of it is swelled by Rain; at which time he has known Batteaux brought 10 or 12

[1] 'By Exps. on the Road to Old Town £1 2*s.* 6*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[2] Colonel Thomas Cresap's, known also as 'Old Fort Cumberland.' (See diary entry for September 10th, *post.*)

Miles down it. He knows little of the Country betwn. that and the little Kanhawa and not more of that above him, on the Monongahela.

The day proving rainy we remained here.

10*th*. Set off a little after 5 Oclock altho' the morning was very unpromising — finding from the Rains that had fallen, and description of the Roads, part of which between the old Town and this place (old Fort Cumberland) we had passed, that the progress of my Baggage would be tedious, I resolved (it being necessary) to leave it to follow; and proceed on myself to Gilbert Simpson's to prepare for the Sale I had advertised of my moiety of the property in co-partnership with him — and to make arrangements for my trip to the Kanhawa, if the temper and disposition of the Indians should render it advisable to proceed. Accordingly, leaving Doctr. Craik, his Son, and My Nephew with it, I set out with one Servant only — dined at a Mr. Gwins [1] at the Fork of the Roads leading to Winchester and the old Town, distant from the latter abt. 20 Miles and lodged at Tumbersons [2] at the little Meadows 15 Miles further —

The Road from the Old Town to Fort Cumberland we found tolerably good, as it also was from the latter to Gwins, except the Mountain which was pretty long (tho' not steep) in the assent and discent: but from Gwins to Tumberson's it is intolerably bad — there being many steep pitches of the Mountain — deep and Miry places — and very Stony ground to pass over. After leaving the Waters of Wills Creek which extends up the Mountain (Alligany) two or three Miles as the Road goes, we fell next on those of George's Creek, which are small — after them, upon Savage River which are considerable: tho' from the

[1] Evan Gwynn's Tavern, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.
[2] Tumblestone's Tavern, Allegheny County; also spelled 'Tomlinson.'

present appearance of them, does not seem capable of Navigation.

11*th.* Set out at half after 5 oclock from Tumbersons, and in about 1½ Miles came to what is called the little crossing of the Yohiogany — the road is not bad — this is a pretty considerable water and, as it is said to have no fall in it, may, I conceive, be improved into a valuable navigation; and from every acct. I have yet been able to obtain, communicates nearest with the No. Branch of Potomack of any other. Breakfasted at one Mounts or Mountains,[1] 11 Miles from Tumberson's; the Road being exceedingly bad, especially through what is called the Shades of death.[2] Bated at the great crossing, which is a large Water, distant from Mounts 9 Miles, and a better Road than between that and Tumbersons. Lodged at one Daughertys a Mile and half short of the Great Meadows — a tolerable good House — the Road between the Crossing and Daughertys is in places, tolerable good, but upon the whole indifferent: — distant from the crossing 12 Miles.

12*th.* Left Daughertys[3] about 6 Oclock, — stopped awhile at the Great Meadows and viewed a tenament I have there, which appears to have been but little improved, tho' capable of being turned to great advantage, as the whole of the ground called the Meadows may be reclaimed at an easy comparitive expence and is a very good

[1] The Mountain Tavern, or White Oak Springs, as it was later called.

[2] Shades of Death. There were two: Little Shades and Great or Big Shades of Death, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Braddock's Road passes through these gloomy bottoms, so called because of the dense growth that hemmed in the narrow road. The names have no connection with Braddock's defeat, as the locality appears to have been so called before the battle of the Monongahela. Tradition, however, ascribes sundry Indian ambuscades to the place. There was also a place of similar name farther to the northeast of Braddock's Road in the Ligonier country.

[3] James Daugherty's.

stand for a Tavern. Much Hay may be cut here when the ground is laid down in Grass and the upland, East of the Meadow is good for grain.

Dined at Mr. Thomas Gists at the foot of Laurel, distant from the Meadows 12 Miles, and arrived at Gilbert Simpson's about 5 oclock 12 Miles further. Crossing the Mountains, I found tedious and fatieguing — from Fort Cumberland to Gwins took me one hour and ten Minutes riding — between Gwins and Tumbersons I was near 6 hours and used all the dispatch I could — between Tumbersons and Mounts's I was full 4 hours — between Mounts's and the crossing upwards of 3 hours — between the crossing and Daughertys 4 hours — between Daughertys and Gists 4¼ — and between Gists and Simpsons upwards of 3 hours and in all parts of the Road that would admit it I endeavoured to ride my usual travelling gate of 5 Miles an hour.

In passing over the Mountains, I met numbers of Persons and Pack horses going in with Ginseng; [1] and for Salt and other articles at the Markets below; from most of whom I made enquiries of the nature of the Country between the little Kanhawa and ten miles Creek (which had been represented as a short and easy portage) and to my surprize found the accts. wch. had been given were so far from the truth that numbers with whom I conversed assured me that the distance was very considerable — that ten Miles Ck. was not navigable even for Canoes more than a Mile from its mouth and few of them, altho I saw many who lived on different parts of this Creek would pretend to guess at the distance.

I endeavoured to get the best acct. I could of the navigation of the Cheat River, and find that the line which

[1] Ginseng; a root. It is a mild, aromatic stimulant, prized as such by the Chinese. The American ginseng is rather closely allied to the true or Chinese ginseng root.

divides the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania crosses the Monongahela above the Mouth of it which gives the command thereof to Pensylvania — that where the River (Cheat) goes through the Laurel hill, the navigation is difficult; not from shallow or rapid water, but from an immense quantity of large Stones, which stand so thick as to render the passage even of a short Canoe impracticable — but I could meet with no person who seemed to have any accurate knowledge of the Country between the navigable, or such part as could be made so, of this River and the North Branch of Potomack — all seem to agree however that it is rough and a good way not to be found.

The accts. given by those whom I met of the late Murders, and general dissatisfaction of the Indians, occasioned by the attempt of our people to settle on the No. West side of the Ohio, which they claim as their territory; and our delay to hold a treaty with them which they say is indicative of a hostile temper on our part, makes it rather improper for me to proceed to the Kanhawa agreeably to my original intention,[1] especially as I learnt from some of them (one in particular) who lately left the Settlement of Kentucke that the Indians were generally in arms and gone, or going, to attack some of our Settlements below — and that a Party who had driven Cattle to Detroit had one of their Company and several of their Cattle killed by the Indians — but as these accts. will either be contradicted or confirmed by some whom I may meet at my Sale on the 15th Instt. my final determination shall be postponed till then.

[1] 'The Indians were in a dissatisfied . . . I had no object in contemplation which could warrant any risk. . . . To see the condition of my lands, which were nearest and settled, and to dispose of those, which were more remote and unsettled was all I had in view. The first I accomplished; the other I could not; I returned three weeks sooner than I expected.' (Washington to Jacob Read, of South Carolina, November 3, 1784.)

13*th*. I visited my Mill,[1] and the several tenements on this Tract (on which Simpson lives). I do not find the land in *general* equal to my expectation of it — some part indeed is as rich as can be, some other part is but indifferent — the levellest is the coldest and of the meanest quality — that which is most broken is the richest; tho' some of the hills are not of the first quality.

The Tenements with respect to the buildings, are but indifferently improved — each have Meadow and are arable, but in no great quantity. — the Mill was quite destitute of water — the works and House appear to be in very bad condition — and no reservoir of water — the stream as it runs, is all the resource it has; — formerly there was a dam to stop the water; but that giving way it is brought in a narrow confined and trifling Race to the foreby, wch. and the trunk, which conveys the water to the wheel are in bad order. In a word, little Rent, or good is to be expected from the present aspect of her.

14*th*. Remained at Mr. Gilbert Simpsons all day. — before Noon Colo. Willm. Butler and the officer Commanding the Garrison at Fort Pitt, a Capt. Lucket[2] came here — as they confirmed the reports of the discontented temper of the Indians and the Mischiefs done by some parties of them[3] — and the former advised me not to prosecute my intended trip to the Great Kanahawa, I resolved to decline it.

This day also the People who lives on my land on Millers Run came here to set forth their pretensions to it;

[1] The mill was built by Simpson, or under his direction, in 1776 (Crawford's letter, Sept. 20, 1776, *see diary entry* Sept. 20 *post*, speaks of seeing it first put into operation); a picture of the mill is given as the frontispiece to Archer B. Hulbert's *Washington and the West*. New York, 1905.

[2] Captain David Luckett, of the Maryland Line, in the Continental Army. He remained in the service, in command at Fort Pitt, until finally discharged in June, 1785.

[3] An Indian raid, as late as 1788, is recorded in near-by West Virginia.

and to enquire into my Right — after much conversation and attempts in them to discover all the flaws they could in my Deed &ca. — and to establish a fair and upright intention in themselves — and after much councelling which proceeded from a division of opinion among themselves — they resolved (as all who lived on the land were not here) to give me their definite determination when I should come to the land, which I told them would probably happen on Friday or Saturday next.

15th. This being the day appointed for the Sale of my moiety of the Co-partnership Stock — many People were gathered (more out of curiosity I believe than from other motives) but no great Sale made.[1] My Mill I could obtain no bid for, altho I offered an exemption from the payment of Rent 15 Months. The Plantation on which Mr. Simpson lives rented well — viz for 500 Bushels of Wheat, payable at any place within the County that I or my Agent might direct. — the little chance of getting a good offer in money, for Rent, induced me to set it up to be bid for in Wheat.

Not meeting with any person who will give me a satisfactory acct. of the Navigation of the Cheat River (tho' they generally agreed it was difficult where it passed thro' the Laurel Hill) nor any acct. of the distance and kind of Country between that, or the Main branch of the Monongahela and the Waters of Potomack — nor of the Country between the little Kanhawa and the Waters of Monongahela tho' all agreed none of the former came near ten miles Creek as had been confidently asserted; I gave up the intention of returning home that way — resolving after

[1] September 16th. 'To Do [cash] from Do. [Gilbert Simpson] on Acct. of a Cow sold £2 10*s*. To Cash recd. at the Sale of my effects £3 6*s*. 8*d*. By the Cryer at my Sale at Simsons 15*s*. By Majr. Freeman as Clerk at Do. £3.' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*) Freeman paid over to Washington bonds and notes to the amount of £146 18*s*. 7¾*d*., the proceeds of this sale.

settling matters with those Persons who had seated my Lands on Millers Run, to return by the way I came; or by what is commonly called the Turkey foot Road.

16*th.* Continued at Simpsons all day in order to finish the business which was begun yesterday — Gave leases to some of my Tents. on the Land where I now am.

17*th.* Detained here by a settled Rain the whole day — which gave me time to close my accts. with Gilbert Simpson, and put a final end to my Partnership with him.[1] Agreed this day with a Major Thomas Freeman[2] to superintend my business over the Mountains, upon terms to be inserted in his Instructions.

18*th.* Set out with Doctr. Craik for my Land on Miller's Run (a branch of Shurtees[3] Creek) — crossed the Monongahela at Devoirs Ferry — 16 miles from Simpsons — bated at one Hamiltons about 4 Miles from it, in Washington County, and lodged at a Colo. Cannons[4] on the Waters of Shurtees Creek — a kind hospitable Man; and sensible.

Most of the Land over which we passed was hilly —

[1] In Cash Memorandum Book A (Washington Papers, Library of Congress) is the following note under this date: 'Memo. charge the Purchassers at my Sale, with their Bonds, Notes & Accts. as pr List returned pr Majr. Freeman & Settle in my Acct. as has been adjusted with Gilbert Simpson.' In Ledger B (Washington Papers), under date of September, 1784, is a note under Simpson's account, 'Settled [by Simpson] by a payment in depreciated paper Money.'

[2] Freeman did not manage the business very successfully, as the following entry in Ledger B, under date of May 12, 1787, indicates: 'By Bonds and Notes put into the hands of Thomas Smith Esqr. to recover for me being given for effects sold and rent due from my estate in Fayette County Pennsylvania £427 3 4½.'

[3] Chartier's Creek.

[4] Colonel John Cannon, the founder of Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania. Washington appointed him his agent to collect the rents from his western tenantry, and the original of Cannon's account, rendered April 2, 1793, was sold at auction in 1890.

some of it very rich — others thin — between a Colo. Cooks and the Ferry the Land was rich but broken — about Shurtee and from thence to Colo. Cannons, the Soil is very luxurient and very uneven.

19*th.* Being Sunday, and the People living on my Land, *apparently* very religious, it was thought best to postpone going among them till tomorrow — but rode to a Doctr. Johnsons[1] who had the keeping of Colo. Crawfords (surveying) Records — but not finding him at home was disappointed in the business which carried me there.

20*th.* Went early this Morning to view my Land, and to receive the final determination of those who live upon it — having obtained a Pilot[2] near the Land I went first to the plantation of Samuel McBride, who has about 5 Acres of Meadow — and 30 of arable Land under good fencing — a Logged dwelling house with a punchion Roof, and Stable, or small barn, of the same kind — the Land rather hilly, but good, first to the plantation of Samuel McBride, who has about

5 Acres of Meadow — and
30 of arable Land

under good fencing — a Logged dwelling house with a punchion Roof,[3] and Stable, or small barn, of the same kind — the Land rather hilly, but good, chiefly white oak. next —

James McBride
3 or 4 Acres of Meadow
28 Do of arable Land

Pretty good fencing — Land rather broken, but good —

[1] John Johnson.

[2] 'By a Man for Piloting me round my Land on Millers Run 6*s*.' (*Cash Memorandum Book A*, September 20th.)

[3] A puncheon roof was made from broad, flat, roughly dressed timbers.

white and black oak mixed — a dwelling House and barn (of midling size) with Puncheon Roofs

Thomas Biggart
Robert Walker living thereon as a Tenant. —
No Meadow. — abt.
20 Acres of arable Land

a dwelling House and single Barn — fences tolerable — and Land good. —

William Stewart
2½ Acres of Meadow
20 Do of arable Land

only one house except a kind of building adjoining for common purposes. — good Land and Midling fences —

Matthew Hillast

has within my line k abt.

7 Acres of Meadow
3 besides, Arable — also

a small double Barn. —

Brice McGeechen
3 Acres of Meadows
20 Do arable — under

good fencing. — A small new Barn good. —

Duncan McGeechen
2 Acres of Meadow
38 Do Arable Land

A good single Barn, dwelling House spring House and several other Houses. — the Plantation under good fencing.

David Reed

claimed by the last mentioned (Duncan McGeechen)

2 Acres of Meadow
18 Do Arable Land

No body living on this place at present — the dwelling House and fencing in bad order.

John Reed Esquire

4 Acres of Meadow
38 Do Arable Do

A Small dwelling House — but Logs for a large one, a Still House — good Land — and fencing

David Reed

2 Acres of Meadow
17 Do Arable.

A good logged dwelling House with a bad Roof — several other small Houses and an indifferent Barn, or Stable — bad fences; but very good Land

William Hillas

20 Acres of Arable Land
No Meadow.

But one house, and that indifferent — fences not good

John Glen

2 or 3 Acres of Meadow within my Line — his plantation and the rest of his Land without. —

James Scott.

Placed on the Land by Thomas Lapsley — has 17 Acres under good fencing — only a dwelling House (which stops the door of a Cabbin built by Captn. Crawford) white oak Land — rather thin — but good bottom *to clear* for Meadow. —

Matthew Johnson
2 Acres of Meadow
24 Do Arable Land

a good logged house — Materials for a dble Barn — very gd. Land, but indifferent fences

James Scott.
a large Plantation — about
70 Acres of Arable Land
4 Do of improved Meadow

Much more may be made into Meadow. — the Land very good, as the fences also are — A Barn dwelling House and some other Houses. —

The foregoing are all the Improvements upon this Tract which contains 2813 Acres

The Land is leveller than is common to be met with in this part of the Country, and good; the principal part of it is white oak, intermixed in many places with black oak; and is estemed a valuable tract.

Dined at David Reeds, after which Mr. James Scot and Squire Reed began to enquire whether I would part with the Land, and upon what terms; adding, that tho' they did not conceive they could be dispossessed, yet to avoid contention, they would buy, if my terms were Moderate. I told them I had no inclination to sell; however, after hearing a great deal of their hardships, their Religious principles (which had brought them together as a society of Ceceders) and unwillingness to seperate or remove; I told them I would make them a last offer and this was — the whole tract at 25 S. pr. Acre, the money to be paid at 3 annual payments with Interest; — or to become Tenants upon leases of 999 years, at the annual Rent of Ten pounds pr. Ct. pr. Ann. — The former they had a long consultation upon, and asked if I wd. take that price at a longer credit

without Interest, and being answered in the Negative they then determined to stand suit for the Land; but it having been suggested that there were among them some who were disposed to relinquish their claim, I told them I would receive their answers individually; and accordingly by calling them as they stood

James Scott
William Stewart
Thomas Lapsley
James McBride
Brice McGeechin
Thomas Biggar
David Reed
William Hillas
James McBride
Duncan McGeechin
Matthew Johnson
John Reed and
John Glen

they severally answered, that they meant to stand suit, and abide the Issue of the Law.

This business being thus finished, I returned to Colo. Cannons in Company with himself, Colo. Nevil,[1] Captn. Swearingin [2] (high Sherif) and a Captn. Richie,[3] who had accompanied me to the Land.

21*st.* Accompanied by Colo. Cannon and Captn. Swearingin who attended me to Debores ferry on the Monongahela which seperates the Counties of Fayette and Washington, I returned to Gilbert Simpson's in the afternoon; after dining at one Wickermans Mill near the Monongahela.

[1] Colonel Joseph Neville. [2] Captain Andrew Swearingen.
[3] Captain Matthew Ritchie. Washington sold him the entire tract of 2813 acres in June, 1796, for $12,000.

Colo. Cannon, Capt. Sweringin and Captn. Richie all promised to hunt up the evidences which could prove my possession and improvement of the Land before any of the present Occupiers ever saw it.

22*d*. After giving instructions to Major Thomas Freeman[1] respecting his conduct in my busines, and disposing of my Baggage which was left under the care of Mr. Gilbert Simpson — consisting of two leather and one linnen Valeses with my Marquee[2] and horseman's Tent Tent Poles and Pins — all my bedding except Sheets (which I take home with me) the equipage Trunk containing all that was put into it except the Silver Cups and Spoons — Canteens — two Kegs of Spirits — Horse Shoes &ca. I set out for Beason Town,[3] in order to meet with, and engage Mr. Thos. Smith to bring ejectments,[4] and to prosecute my Suit for the Land in Washington County, on which those, whose names are herein inserted, are settled. Reached Beason Town about dusk about (the way I came) 18 Miles.

Note. — in my equipage Trunk and the Canteens — were Madeira and Port Wine — Cherry bounce — Oyl, Mustard — Vinegar — and Spices of all sorts — Tea, and Sugar in the Camp Kettles (a whole loaf of white sugar broke up about 7 lbs. weight) the Camp Kettles are under a lock, as the Canteens and Trunk also are — My fishing lines are in the Canteens.

At Beason Town I met with Captn Hardin[5] who in-

[1] The instructions to Major Freeman, dated September 23, 1784, at Simpson's, are entered in Washington's Letter Books, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] A large military field tent, used more especially for officers.

[3] Beason, now Union Town, Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

[4] The ejectment suits were duly brought by Smith and the squatter tenants evicted. 'Sep. 24. By Mr. Smith to Bring Ejectmts. & Prosecute my Land Suit in Washington Court. £17 12 0.' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

[5] Captain John Hardin. Hulbert, *Washington and the West* (New York, 1905), p. 156, thinks Benjamin Hardin.

formed me, as I had before been informed by others, that the West fork of Monongahela communicates very nearly with the waters of the little Kanhawa — that the Portage does not exceed Nine Miles — and that a very good Waggon Road may be had between — That from the Mouth of the River Cheat to that of the West Fork, is computed to be 30 Miles, and the Navigation good — as it also is up the West fork. that the South or Main branch of the Monongahela has considerable impediments in the Way; and were it otherwise, would not answer the purpose of a communication with the North or South Branch of the Potomack from the westerly direction in which it runs. That the Cheat River, tho' rapid and bad, has been navigated to the Dunkard bottom [1] about 25 Miles from its Mouth and that he has understood a good way may be had from thence to the North branch, which he thinks must be about 30 Miles distant. He also adds, that from the Settlemts. on the East of the Alligany, to Monongahela Court House on the West, it is reported a very good Road may be opened, and is already marked; from whence to the Navigable Water of the little Kanhawa is abt. Miles.

From this information I resolved to return home that way; and my Baggage under the care of Doctr. Craik and Son, having from Simpsons, taken the Rout by the New (or Turkey foot) Road as it is called (which is said to be 20 Miles near[er] than Braddocks) with a view to make a more minute enquiry into the Navigation of the Yohiogany Waters. My Nephew and I set out about Noon, with one Colo. Philips [2] for Cheat River; after I had engaged Mr. Smith to undertake my business and had given him such information as I was able to do.

Note, It is adjudged proper to ascertain the date of the

[1] Dunkards, or German Baptists. Three brothers settled in this place in 1750 and were, shortly afterwards, massacred by the Indians; whence the name.

[2] Theophilus Phillips.

Warrt. to Captn. Posey [1] — and the identity of his hand writing to his Bond to me; the latter so as to give it authenticity — as also the date of Lewis's [2] return, on which my Patent Issued because if this is antecedent to the settlement of the occupiers of my Land, it will put the matter out of all kind of dispute; as the claim of those people rests upon their possessing the Land before I had any legal Survey of it — not viewing Crawfords as authentic. 'Tis advisable also, to know whether any location of it was ever made in the Land, or Surveyors Office, and the date of such Entry — and likewise, what Ordainance it is Captn. Crawford speaks of in his Letter of the 20th of Septr. 1776 [3] which passed he says at the last Convention, for saving equitable claims on the Western Waters.

23*d*. Arrived at Colo. Philips abt. five oclock in the afternoon 16 Miles from Beason Town and near the Mouth of Cheat Rivr. the land thro' wch. I rid was for the most part tolerably level — in some places rich — but in general of a second quality — crossed no water of consequence except Georges Creek.

An Apology made to me from the Court of Fayette (thro' Mr. Smith) for not addressing me; as they found my Horses Saddled and myself on the move.

Finding by enquiries, that the Cheat River had been passed with Canoes thro' those parts which had been represented as impassable — and that a Captn. Hanway [4] — the Surveyor of Monongahela County lived within two or three Miles of it, South side thereof; I resolved to pass it to

[1] Captain John Posey.

[2] Thomas Lewis, clerk of Rockingham County, and county surveyor, 1778–89.

[3] Captain, later Colonel William Crawford. His letter is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The Virginia Convention earlier in the year 1776 had passed an ordinance establishing certain procedure by which titles to formerly acquired lands were confirmed.

[4] Captain Samuel Hanway.

obtain further information, and accordingly (accompanied by Colo. Philips) set of in the Morning of the

24*th.* And crossed it at the Mouth,[1] as it was thought the River was too much swelled to attempt the ford a little higher up. — the fork was about 2 Miles and half from Colo. Philips and the ground betw. very hilly tho' rich in places.

The Cheat at the Mouth is about 125 yds. wide — the Monogahela near dble. that — the colour of the two Waters is very differt., that of Cheat is dark (occasioned as is conjectured by the Laurel, among which it rises, and through which it runs) the other is clear; and there appears a repugnancy in both to mix, as there is a plain line of division betwn. the two for some distance below the fork; which holds, I am told near a Mile. — the Cheat keeps to the right shore as it descends, and the other the left.

The Line which divides the Commonwealths of Virginia and Pensylvania crosses both these Rivers about two Miles up each from the point of fork and the Land between them is high as the line runs being a ridge which seperates the two Waters — but higher up the fork a good road (it is said) may be had from one River to the other.

From the Fork to the Surveyors Office, which is at the house of one Pierpoint,[2] is about 8 Miles along the dividing Ridge — at this Office I could obtain no information of any Surveys or Entrie made for me by Captn. Wm. Crawford; but from an examination of his books it appeared pretty evident that the 2500 acres which he (Crawford) had surveyed for and offered to me on the little Kanhawa (adjoining the large survey under the proclamation of 1754) he had entered for Mr. Robert Rutherford — and that the

[1] 'By Ferriages at Kincades 3*s.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)
[2] John Pierpont.

other tract in the fork between the Ohio and little Kanhawa had been entered by Doctr. Briscoe and Sons.

Pursuing my enquiries respecting the Navigation of the Western Waters, Captn. Hanway proposed, I would stay all Night, to send to Monongahela Ct. House at Morgan town, for Colo. Zachl. Morgan [1] and others; who would have it in their power to give the best accts. that were to be obtained, which, assenting to, they were sent for and came, and from them I received the following intelligence viz —

That from the fork of Monongahela and Cheat, to the Court House at Morgan Town, is, by Water, about 11 Miles, and from thence to the West fork of the former is 18 More — from thence to the carrying place between it and a branch of the little Kanhawa, at a place called Bulls town,[2] is about 40 Miles by Land — more by Water — and the Navigation good. The carrying place is nine Miles and an half between the navigable parts of the two Waters; and a good Road between; there being only one hill in the way, and that not bad — hence to ye Mo. of the Kanhawa is 50 Miles.

That from Monongahela Court House 13 Miles along the New Road which leads into Braddock's Road, East of the winding ridge, and McCulloch's path, to one Joseph Logston's on the North branch of Potomack is about 40 Miles — that this way passes through Sandy Creek glades, and the glades of Yohiogany, and may be good — but, if the Road should go from Clark's Town on the Western fork of Monongahela, 15 Miles below the carrying place to the aforesaid Logston's it would cross the Tyger Valley River (the largest branch of Monongahela) above the falls therein, go through the glades of Monongahela; cross Cheat River at the Dunkers bottom (25 Miles from its Mouth) and thence through the Glades of Yohiogany — in all fm. ye Kaha. 85 Miles.

That the Cheat River where it runs through the Laurel hill is, in their opinion, so incomoded with large Rock stones, rapid and dashing water from one Rock to another, as to become impass-

[1] Colonel Zackwell Morgan.

[2] The present Bullstown in Braxton County, West Virginia, is a short distance from the Little Kanawha.

able; especially as they do not think a passage sufficient to admit a Canal can be found between the Hills and the common bed of the River — but of these matters none of them pretended to speak from actual knowledge, or observation; but from Report, and partial views.

That from these rapids to the Dunkers bottom, and four Miles above, the Navigation is very good; — after which for 8 Miles, the River is very foul, and worse to pass than it is through the Laurel hill; but from thence upwards thro' the horse Shoe bottom, and many Miles higher, it is again good, and fit for transportation; but (tho' useful to the Inhabitants thereof) will conduce nothing to the general plan, as it is thought no part of the Cheat River runs nearer to the navigable part of the No. branch of Potomack than the Dunkers bottom does, which they add is about 25 Miles of good road. From the Dunkers bottom to Clarkes Town they estimate 35 Miles, and say the Tyger Valley fork of the Monongahela affords good navigation above the falls which is 7 Miles only from the Mouth, and is a Cateract of 25 feet.

25*th.* Having obtained the foregoing information, and being indeed somewhat discouraged from the acct. given of the passage of the Cheat River through Laurel hill and also from attempting to return by the way of the Dunkers bottom, as the path it is said is very blind and exceedingly grown up with briers, I resolved to try the other Rout, along the New Road to Sandy Creek; and thence by McCullochs path to Logstons; and accordingly set out before Sunrise.

Within 3 Miles I came to the River Cheat abt. 7 Miles from its Mouth — at a ferry kept by one Ice;[1] of whom making enquiry, I learnt that he himself, had passed from the Dunkers bottom both in Canoes and with Rafts. That a new Canoe which I saw at his Landing had come down the day before only, (the owner of which had gone to Sandy Creek) — that the first rapid was about 1½ Miles above his

[1] Andrew Ice, from whom the ferry was named, was the grandson of Adam Ice, who was said to have been the first white child born west of the Alleghanies.

ferry — that it might be between 50 and 100 yards thro' it — that from this to the Next, might be a Mile, of good water — That these 2 Rapids were much alike, and of the same extent; — that to the next rapid, which was the worst of the three, it was about 5 Miles of smooth water. That the difficulty of passing these rapids lies more in the number of large Rocks which choak the River, and occasion the water not only (there being also a greater dissent here than elsewhere) to run swift, but meandering thro' them renders steerage dangerous by the sudden turnings. That from his ferry to the Dunkers bottom, along the River, is about 15 Miles; and in his opinion, there is room on one side or the other of it at each of the Rapids for a Canal.

This acct. being given from the Man's own observation, who seemed to have no other meaning in what he asserted than to tell the truth, tho' he, like others, who for want of competent skill in these things cou'd not distinguish between real and imaginary difficulties, left no doubt on my Mind of the practicability of opening an easy passage by Water to the Dunker bottom. — the River at his house may be a hundred or more yards wide, according to his acct. (which I believe is rather large) near a hundred miles by water to Fort Pitt.

The Road from Morgan Town, or Monongahela Ct. House, is said to be good to this ferry — distance abt. 6 Miles — the dissent of the hill to the River is rather Steep and bad — and the assent from it, on the North side, is steep also tho' short, and may be rendered much better; — from the ferry the Laurel hill is assended by an easy and almost imperceptible slope to its summit thro' dry white Oak Land — along the top of it the Road continues for some distance, but is not so good; as the Soil is richer, deeper and more stony, which inconveniences (for good roads) also attends the dissent on the East side, tho' it is

regular, and in no places steep. After crossing this hill the road is very good to the ford of Sandy Creek at one James Spurgeons abt. 15 Miles from Ice's ferry.

At the crossing of this Creek McCullochs path, which owes its origen to Buffaloes, being no other than their tracks from one lick to another and consequently crooked and not well chosen,[1] strikes off from the New road which passes great Yohiogany 15 Miles further on, and enters Braddock Road at the place before mentioned, at the distance of 22 Miles.

From Spurgeon's to one Lemons, which is a little to the right of McCullochs path, is reckoned 9 Miles, and the way not bad; but from Lemons to the entrance of the Yohiogany glades which is estimated 9 Miles more thro' a deep rich Soil in some places and a very rocky one in others, with steep hills and what is called the briery Mountains[2] to cross is intolerable but these might be eased and a much better way found if a little pains was taken to slant them.

At the entrance of the above glades I lodged this night, with no other shelter or cover than my cloak and was unlucky enough to have a heavy shower of Rain — our horses also were turned loose to cater for themselves having nothing to give them — from this place my guide (Lemon) informed me that the Dunkers bottom was not more than 8 Miles from us.

It may not be amiss to observe, that Sandy Creek has a fall within a few miles of its Mouth of 40 feet, and being rapid besides, affords no navigation at all.

[1] The buffalo trails kept to the low ground and negotiated the hills by the easiest grades, regardless of the fact that the distances traveled were thus largely increased. Washington's idea was always that of the shortest haul between navigable waters, and, in this view, the buffalo paths were not adaptable. Water transportation was the only kind known at that time, the steam locomotive being undreamt of. It is an interesting point, however, as Hulbert states (*Historic Highways of America*), that the railroad engineers have generally found that their easiest hill grades were those marked out by the buffalo trails.

[2] Brier Mountain, Preston County, West Virginia.

26*th*. Having found our Horses readily (for they nevr. lost sight of our fire) we started at the dawning of day, and passing along a small path much enclosed with weeds and bushes, loaded with Water from the overnights rain and the showers which were continually falling, we had an uncomfortable travel to one Charles friends, about 10 Miles; where we could get nothing for our horses, and only boiled Corn for ourselves.

In this distance, excepting two or three places which abounded in Stone, and no advantage taken of the hills (which were not large) we found the ground would admit an exceedingly good Waggon Road with a little causeying[1] of some parts of the Glades; the Ridges between being chiefly white oak land, intermixed with grit and Stone.

Part of these glades is the property of Govr. Johnson[2] of Maryland who has settled two or three families of Palatines[3] upon them. These glades have a pretty appearance, resembling cultivated Lands and improved Meadows at a distance; with woods here and there interspersed. Some of them are rich, with black and lively Soil — others are of a stiffer, and colder Nature — all of them feel, very early, the effect of frost — the growth of them, is a grass, not much unlike what is called fancy grass, without the variegated colours of it; much intermixed in places with fern and other weeds, as also with alder and other Shrubs. The Land between these glades is chiefly white oak, on a dry stony Soil. In places there are Walnut and Crab tree bottoms, which are very rich. The glades are not so level as one would imagine — in general they rise from the small water courses which run through all of them to the Ridges which seperate one from another — but they are

[1] A raised roadway over wet or marshy ground.

[2] Governor Thomas Johnson.

[3] German settlers from the Lower Palatinates on the Rhine came over to Pennsylvania in 1710; from that State they drifted down through the Piedmont and Shenandoah Valleys.

highly beneficial to the circumjacent Country from whence the Cattle are driven to pasture in the Spring and recalled at Autumn.

A Mile before I came to Friends, I crossed the Great branch of Yohiogany, which is about 25 or 30 yards over; and impassable, according to his acct. between that and Braddocks Road on acct. of the Rapidity of the Water, quantity of Stone, and Falls therein — but these difficulties, in the eyes of a proper examiner, might be found altogether imaginary; and if so, the Navigation of the Yohiogany and No. Branch of Potomack may be brought within 10 Miles and a good Waggon Road betwn.; but then, the Yohiogany lyes altogether in the State of Pensylvania whose inclination (regardless of the interest of that part which lyes West of the Laurel hill) would be opposed to the extension of this navigation, as it would be the inevitable means of withdrawing from them the trade of all their western territory.

The little Yohiogany from Braddocks Road to the Falls below the Turkey foot, or 3 forks, may, in the opinion of Friend, who is a great Hunter, and well acquainted with all the Waters, as well as hills, having lived in that Country and followed no other occupation for nine years, be made navigable — and this, were it not for the reason just assigned, being within 22 Miles of Fort Cumberland, would open a very important door to the trade of that Country.

He is also of opinion that a very good road may be had from the Dunkers bottom to the No. Branch of Potomack, at or near where McCullochs path crosses it; and that the distance will not exceed 22 Miles, to pass by his house, i.e. 10 to the No. Branch and 12 to the Dunkers bottom — half of which (10 or 11 Miles) will go through the glades, white Oak ridges will seperate them.

There will be an intervention of two hills in this road —

the back bone [1] near the Branch — and the Briery Mountain near the Bottom, both of which may be easily passed in the lowest parts by judicious slants, and these with some Causeys in the richest and deepest parts of the glades will enable a common team to draw twenty hundred with ease from one place to the other.

From Friends I passed by a spring (distance 3 Miles) called Archy's from a Man of that name — crossed the back bone and descended into Ryans glade. Thence by Thos. Logston's (the father of Joseph) — The way and distances as follow — to the foot of the back bone, about 5 Miles of very good ground for a Road; being partly glady, and partly white Oak Ridges. — across the Ridge to Ryans glade One Mile and half bad, the hill being steep, and in places Stony — to Joseph Logston's 1½ Miles very good going — to the No. Branch at McCullochs path 2 Miles — infamous road — and to Thos. Logstons 4 more, partly pretty good, and in places very bad but it has been observed before to what fortuitous circumstances the paths of this Country owe their being, and how much the ways may be better chosen by a proper investigation of it; and the distances from place to place reduced. This appear'd evident from my own observation and from young Logston, who makes hunting his chief employment; and according to his own acct. is acquainted with every hill and rivulet between the North Branch and the Dunkers bottom.

He asserts that from Ryan's glade to the No. branch, 2 Miles below the Mouth of Stony River (wch. is about 4 below McCullochs crossing) a very good Road may be traced, and the distance not more than it is from the same place to the crossing last mentioned, which is a circumstance of some importance as the No. Branch above its junction with Stony River (which of the two seems to

[1] Back Bone Mountain, Garrett County, Maryland.

contain the most water) would hardly afford water for Navigation.

He agrees precisely with Charles Friends respecting the Nature of the Road between the North Branch and the Dunkers bottom; but insists upon it that the distance will not exceed 20 Miles and that Friends ought to be left two Miles to the Westward — this may acct. for their difference of opinion; the latter wanting his House to be introduced as a stage and here it may be well to observe; that however knowing these people are, their accts. are to be received with great caution — compared with each other — and these again with one's own observatns.; as private views are as prevalent in this, as any other Country; and are particularly exemplified in the article of Roads; which (where they have been marked) seem calculated more to promote individual interest, than the public good.

From the reputed distances, as I have given them from place to place between Monongahela Court House and the No. branch at McCulloch's ford, and description of the country over which I travelled, it should seem that Colo, Morgan and those with whom I had the meeting at Captn. Hanway's, are mistaken in two points. — viz — measurement and the goodness of Road — They making the distance between those places only 40 Miles and the way good, whereas by my Acct. the first is computed 55 Miles and a part of the Road very bad — both however are easily accounted for; the rout being circuitous, and beasts instead of Men having traced it out. Altho' I was seldom favored with a sight of the Sun but handsomely besprinkled with Rain the greater part of the way it was evident to me that from Pierpoints (Captn. Hanways Quartrs.) to the crossing of Sandy Creek, I rid in a No. Et. direction — from thence for many Miles South — and afterwards South Easterly.

I could obtain no good acct. of the Navigation of the

No. Branch between McCulloch's crossing and Will's Creek (or Fort Cumberland) indeed there were scarce any persons of whom enquiries could be made; for, from Lemon's to old Logstons their is only Friend and young Logston living on the track I came and none on it for 20 Miles below him — but in general I could gather from them, especially from Joseph Logston, who has (he says) hunted along the Water course of the River that there is no fall in it — that from Fort Cumberland to the Mouth of Savage River the water being good is frequesntly made use of in its present State with Canoes — and from thence upwards, is only rapid in places with loose Rocks which can readily be removed.

From the Mouth of Savage River the State of Maryland (as I was informed) were opening a Road to their western boundary which was to be met by another which the Inhabitants of Monongahela County (in Virginia) were extending to the same place from the Dunker bottom through the glades of Yohiogany making in the aggregate abt. 35 Miles — this Road will leave Friends according to his Acct. a little to the Eastward and will upon the whole be a *good* Road but not *equal* to the *one* which may be traced from the Dunkers bottom to the No. Branch at, or below the fork of it and Stony River.

At this place — viz Mr. Thos. Logston's I met a brother of his, an intelligent man, who informed me that some years ago he had travelled from the Mouth of Carpenters Creek (now more generally known by the name of Dunlaps) a branch of Jackson's, which is the principal prong of James River to the Mouth of Howards Creek wch. empties into the Greenbrier a large branch of New River abe. Great Kanhawa — that the distance between them does not exceed 20 Miles — and not a hill in the way. If this be fact, and he asserts it positively, a communication with the Western Country that way, if the falls in the Great Kan-

hawa (thro the gauly Mountn.[1]) Can be rendered navigable will be as ready, — perhaps more direct than any other for all the Inhabitants of the Ohio and its Waters below the little Kanhawa — and that these Falls are not so tremendous as some have represented I am inclined to believe from several Circumstances — one of which, in my mind, is conclusive — so far at least — as they do not amount to a Cataract, and that is that Fish ascend them — it being agreed on all hands that the large Cats and other fish of the Ohio are to be met with in great abundence in the River above them.

27*th.* I left Mr. Logston's a little after daybreak — at 4 Miles thro' bad road, occasioned by Stone, I crossed the Stoney River; which, as hath been before observed, appears larger than the No. Branch — at Ten Miles I had by an imperceptible rise gained the summit of the Alligany Mountain and began to desend it where it is very steep and bad to the Waters of Pattersons Creek which embraces those of New Creek — along the heads of these, and crossing the Main Creek and Mountain bearing the same name (on the top of which at one Snails[2] I dined) I came to Colo. Abrahm. Hites at Fort pleasant[3] on the South Branch about 35 Miles from Logston a little before the Suns setting.

My intention, when I set out from Logstons, was to take the Road to Rumney[4] by one Parkers but learning from my guide (Joseph Logston) when I came to the parting paths at the foot of the Alligany (abt. 12 Miles) that it was very little further to go by Fort pleasant, I resolved to take that Road as it might be more in my power on that part of

[1] Gauly Mountain. The name is probably a French derivative, but its origin is now lost.

[2] Snell's (?).

[3] Now Point Pleasant.

[4] Romney, Hampshire County, West Virginia.

the Branch to get information of the extent of its navigation than I should be able to do at Rumney.

28*th.* Remained at Colo. Hite's all day to refreash myself and rest my Horses, having had a very fatieguing journey thro' the Mountains, occasioned not more from the want of accomodation and the real necessaries of life than the showers of Rain which were continually falling and wetting the bushes — the passing of which, under these circumstances was very little better than swimming of Rivulets.

From Colo. Hite, Colo. Josh, Neville and others, I understood that the navigation of the South Branch in its present State, is made use of from Fort pleasant to its Mouth — that the most difficult part in it, and that would not take £100 to remove the obstruction (it being only a single rift of rocks across in one place) is 2 Miles below the old Fort — that this, as the Road goes, is 40 Miles; by water more — and that, from any thing they knew, or believe to the contrary, it might at this moment be used 50 Miles higher, if any benefits were to result from it.

29*th.* Having appointed to join Doctr. Craik and my Baggage at Colo. Warner Washington's, but finding it required only one day more to take the Rout of Mr. Thos. Lewis's (near Stanton [1]) from whose Office I wanted some papers to enable me to prosecute my ejectments of those who had possessed themselves of my Land in the County of Washington, State of Pensylvania; and that I might obtain a more distinct acct. of the Communication between Jackson's River and the green Brier; — I sent my Nephew Bushrod Washington (who was of my party) to that place to request the Doctr. to proceed — and accompanied by Captn. Hite, son to the Colonel, I set out for Rockingham

[1] Staunton.

in which County Mr. Lewis now lives since the division of Augusta.[1]

Proceeding up the So. fork of the So. Branch about 24 Miles — bated our Horses and obtained something to eat ourselves, at one Rudiborts.[2] Thence taking up a branch and following same about 4 Miles thro' a very confined and rocky path, towards the latter part of it, we ascended a very steep point of the So. Branch Mountain, but which was not far across, to the No. fork of Shanondoah; down which by a pretty good path which soon grew into a considerable road, we discended until we arrived at one Fishwaters[3] in Brocks gap, about 8 Miles from the foot of the Mountain — 12 from Rudiborts and 36 from Colonl. Hites. This gap is occasioned by the above branch of Shannondoahs running thro' the Cacapehon and North Mountains for about 20 Miles and affords a good road, except being Stony and crossing the Water often.

30*th.* Set out early — Captn. Hite returning home and travelled 11 or 12 Miles along the River, until I had passed thro' the gap — then bearing more westerly by one Bryan's[4] — the Widow Smiths and one Gilberts,[5] I arrived at Mr. Lewis's about Sundown, after riding about 40 Miles — leaving Rockingham Ct. House to my right about 2 Miles.

OCTOBER

1*st.* Dines at Mr. Gabriel Jones's,[6] not half a mile from Mr. Lewis's, but seperated by the South Fork of Shannon-

[1] Rockingham County was formed from Augusta in January, 1777.

[2] The name is variously given as Rodebach, Rodebush, Roudebush (as Washington has it, Rudiborts), and Reediborts.

[3] John Fishwater, Justice of the Peace, Rockingham County.

[4] Major William Bryan's?

[5] Felix Gilbert.

[6] Gabriel Jones (1724–1806), the leading lawyer of the day in the Shenandoah

doah; which is between 80 and a hundred yards wide and makes a respectable appearance altho' little short of 150 Miles from its confluence with Potomack River; and only impeded in its navigation by the rapid water and rocks which are between the old bloomery and Keys's ferry; and a few other Ripples; all of which might be easily removed and the navigation according to Mr. Lewis's account, extended at least 30 Miles higher than where he lives.

I had a good deal of conversation with this Gentleman on the Waters, and trade of the Western Country; and particularly with respect to the Navigation of the Great Kanhawa and its communication with James and Roanoke Rivers.

His opinion is, that the easiest and best communication between the Eastern and Western Waters is from the North branch of Potomack to Yohiogany or Cheat River; and ultimately that the Trade between the two Countries will settle in this Channel. That altho James River has an easy and short communication from the Mouth of Carpeentrs or Dunlaps Creek to the Green brier which in distance and kind of Country is exactly as Logston described them, yet, that the passage of the New River, abe. Kanhawa, thro' the gauly Mountain from every acct. he has had of it, now is, and ever will be attended with considerable difficulty, if it should not prove impracticable. The Fall he has understood, altho' it may be short of a Cataract, or perpendicular tumble, runs with the velocity of a stream discending a Mountain, and is besides very Rocky and closely confined between rugged hills. He adds, that from all appearance, a considerable part of the Water with which the River above abounds, sinks at or above this Rapid or fall, as the quantity he says, from report, is

Valley, long Counsel for Lord Fairfax. He had been a burgess at intervals from 1748 to 1771 and sat in the Virginia Convention of 1788 when he voted to ratify the Constitution of the United States. His character is set forth in Hugh Blair Grigsby's *Convention of 1788*, vol. 1, p. 340.

greatly diminished, however, as it is not his own observations, but report these accts. are had, the real difficulty in surmounting the obstructions here described may be much less than are apprehended; wch. supposition is well warranted by the ascension of the Fish.

Mr. Lewis is of opinion that if the obstructions in this River can be removed, that the easiest communication of all, would be by the Roanoke, as the New River and it are within 12 Miles, and an excellent Waggon Road between them and no difficulty that ever he heard of, in the former, to hurt the inland Navigation of it.

2*d.* I set off very early from Mr. Lewis's who accompanied me to the foot of the bleu Ridge at Swift run gap, 10 Miles, where I bated and proceeded over the Mountain — dined at a pitiful house 14 Miles further where the Roads to Fredericksburgh (by Orange Ct House) and that to Culpeper Court House fork — took the latter, tho' in my judgment Culpeper Court House was too much upon my right for a direct course. Lodged at a Widow Yearlys 12 Miles further where I was hospitably entertained.

3*d.* Left Quarters before day, and breakfasted at Culpeper Court house[1] which was estimated 21 Miles, but by bad direction I must have travelled 25 at least — crossed Normans ford 10 Miles from the Court Ho. and lodged at Captn. John Ashbys occasioned by other bad directions, which took me out of the proper Road, which ought to have been by Elk Run Church 3 or 4 Miles to the right.

4*th.* Notwithstanding a good deal of Rain fell in the Night and the continuance of it this morning (which lasted till about 10 Oclock) I breakfasted by Candle-light, and Mounted my horse soon after daybreak; and having

[1] 'Exps. at Kemps 6*s.* 8*d.*' (*Cash Memorandum Book A.*)

Captn. Ashby for a guide thro' the intricate part of the Road (which ought, tho' I missed it, to have been by Prince William old Court Ho.) I arrived at Colchester, 30 Miles, to Dinner; and reached home before Sun down;[1] having travelled on the same horses since the first day of September by the computed distances 680 Miles.

And tho' I was disappointed in one of the objects which induced me to undertake this journey namely to examine into the situation quality and advantages of the Land which I hold upon the Ohio and Great Kanhawa — and to take measures for rescuing them from the hands of Land Jobbers and Speculators — who I had been informed regardless of my legal and equitable rights, patents, &ca.; had enclosed them within other Surveys and were offering them for Sale at Philadelphia and in Europe. — I say notwithstanding this disappointment I am well pleased with my journey, as it has been the means of my obtaining a knowledge of facts — coming at the temper and disposition of the Western Inhabitants — and making reflections thereon, which, otherwise, must have been as wild, incohert., or perhaps as foreign from the truth, as the inconsistency of the reports which I had received even from those to whom most credit seemed due, generally were.

These reflections remain to be summed up —

[1] This description of the route across Fauquier and Prince William from Norman's Ford of the Rappahannock to Colchester on the Occoquan is evidence of the decay, during the war, of the traffic which for years previously had crowded the old Carolina road, the last evidences of which had been the route diaries kept by Lieutenant Anburey and General Anthony Wayne during their respective marches to the South during the war. In 1775, Washington would have followed a well-defined highway from Norman's Ford (the seat of Charles Carter the younger) to George Nevill's Ordinary and thence by the Dumfries road to the Potomac Path, which led north from Dumfries to Colchester. But in 1784 this highway had fallen into disuse, and Washington sought another route from John Ashby's via Elk Run Church, where he expected to join the Falmouth road leading to the second (but since 1760 abandoned) Prince William Court-House on Cedar Run. This route also he missed, and so had to make his way across country to Dumfries. For contemporary description of the condition of the roads in lower Fauquier see A. J. Morrison, *Travels of Dr. Schoepf.*

The more then the Navigation of Potomack is investigated, and duly considered, the greater the advantages arising from them appear.

The South or principal branch of Shannondoah at Mr. Lewis's is, to traverse the river, at least 150 Miles from its Mouth; all of which, except the rapids between the Bloomery and Keys's ferry now is, or very easily may be made navigable for inland Craft, and extended 30 Miles higher. The South Branch of Potomack is already navigated from its Mouth to Fort Pleasant; which, as the Road goes, is 40 computed Miles; and the only difficulty in the way (and that a very trifling one) is just below the latter, where the River is hemmed in by the hills or mountains on each side. From hence, in the opinion of Col. Joseph Neville and others, it may, at the most trifling expense imaginable, be made navigable 50 Miles higher.

To say nothing then of the smaller Waters, such as Pattersons Creek, Cacapehon, Opekon &ca.; which are more or less Navigable; and of the branches on the Maryland side, these two alone (that is the South Branch and Shannondoah) would afford water transportation for all that fertile Country between the bleu ridge and the Alligany Mountains; which is immense — but how trifling when viewed upon that immeasurable scale, which is inviting our attention!

The Ohio River embraces this Commonwealth from its Northern, almost to its Southern limits. It is now, our western boundary and lyes nearly parallel to our exterior, and thickest settled Country.

Into this River French Creek, big bever Creek, Muskingham,[1] Hockhocking, Scioto, and the two Miames (in its upper Region) and many others (in the lower) pour themselves from the westward through one of the most fertile Countries of the Globe; by a long inland navigation; which,

[1] The Muskingum.

in its present state, is passable for Canoes and such other small craft as has, hitherto, been made use of for the Indian trade.

French Creek, down which I have myself come to Venango,[1] from a lake near its source, is 15 Miles from Prisque Isle on lake Erie; and the Country betwn. quite level. Both big bever creek and Muskingham, communicates very nearly with Cayahoga; which runs into lake Erie; the portage with the latter (I mean Muskingham) as appears by the Maps, is only one mile; and by many other accts. a very little further; and so level between, that the Indians and Traders, as is affirmed, always drag their Canoes from one River to the other when they go to War — to hunt — or trade. The great Miame, which runs into the Ohio, communicates with a River of the same name, as also with Sandusky, which empty themselves into Lake Erie, by short and east Portages. And all of these are so many channels through which not only the produce of the New States contemplated by Congress, but the trade of *all* the lakes, quite to that of the Wood,[2] may be conducted according to my information, and judgment — at least by one of the Routs — thro' a shorter, easier, and less expensive communication than either of those which are now, or have been used with Canada, New Yk. or New Orleans.

That this may not appear an assertion, or even an opinion unsupported, I will examine matters impartially, and endeavor to state facts.

Detroit is a point, thro' which the Trade of the Lakes Huron, and all those above it, must pass, if it centers in any State of the Union; or goes to Canada; unless it should pass by the River Outawais,[3] which disgorges itself into the

[1] On his return from Fort Le Bœuf in 1748.

[2] Lake of the Woods, now in Ontario, Canada, and partially in Minnesota. The lake was known in the Colonies as early as before the French and Indian War.

[3] River Ottawa which empties into the St. Lawrence 25 miles above Montreal.

St. Lawrence at Montreal and which necessity only can compel; as it is from all accts. longer and of more difficult navigation than the St. Lawrence itself.

To do this, the Waters which empty into the Ohio on the East Side, and which communicate nearest and best with those which run into the Atlantic, must also be delineated.

These are, Monongahela and its branches, viz, Yohiogany and Cheat and the little and great Kanhawas; and Greenbrier which empties into the latter.

The first (unfortunately for us [1]) is within the jurisdiction of Pensylvania from its Mouth to the fork of Cheat, indeed 2 Miles higher — as (which is more to be regretted) the Yohiogany also is, till it crosses the line of Maryland; these Rivers I am persuaded, afford *much* the shortest Routs from the Lakes to the tide water of the Atlantic, but are not under our controul; being subject to a power [2] whose interest is opposed to the extension of their navigation, as it would be the inevitable means of withdrawing from Philadelphia all the trade of that part of its western territory, which lyes beyond the Laurel hill. Though any attempt of that Government to restrain it I am equally well persuaded wd. cause a seperation of their territory; there being sensible men among them who have it in contemplation at this moment [3] — but this by the by. The little Kanhawa, which stands next in order, and by Hutchins's [4] table of distances (between Fort Pit and the Mouth of the River Ohio) is 184½ Miles below the Monongahela, is navigable between 40 and 50 Miles up, to a place called Bullstown. Thence there is a Portage of 9½ Miles to the West fork of Monongahela — Thence along the same to

[1] Virginians. [2] Pennsylvania. [3] The people west of Laurel Mountain.
[4] Thomas Hutchins, Geographer. He had been an engineer in the British Army; but had sided with the Colonies in the Revolution. He published a *Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina* (London: 1778). The table of distances here referred to by Washington is in the *Topographical Description.*

the Mouth of Cheat River and up it to the Dunker bottom; from whence a portage may be had to the No branch of Potomack.

Next to the little, is the great Kanhawa; which by the above table is 98½ miles still lower down the Ohio. This is a fine Navigable river to the Falls; the practicability of opening which, seems to be little understood; but most assuredly ought to be investigated.

These then are the ways by which the produce of that Country; and the peltry and fur trade of the Lakes may be introduced into this State; and into Maryld.; which stands upon similar ground. There are ways, more difficult and expensive indeed by which they can also be carried to Philadelphia — all of which, with the Rout to Albany, and Montreal, and the distances by Land, and Water, from place to place, as far as can be ascertained by the best Maps now extant — by actual Surveys made since the publication of them — and the information of intelligent persons — will appear as follow — from Detroit — which is a point, as has been observed, as unfavourable for us to compute from (being upon the North Western extremity of the United territory) as any beyond Lake Erie can be.

viz —

From Detroit to Alexandria is		
To Cayahoga River	125	Miles
Up the same to the Portage	60	
Portage to Bever Ck.	8	
Down Bever Ck. to the Ohio	85	
Up the Ohio to Fort Pitt	25	303
The Mouth of Yohiogany	15	
Falls of Ditto	50	
Portage	1	
Three forks or Turkey foot	8	
Fort Cumberld. or Wills Creek	30	
Alexandria	200	304
		607
	321	

To Fort Pitt as above		303	
The Mouth of Cheat River	75		
Up it, to the Dunker bottom	25		
North branch of Potomack	20		
Fort Cumberland	40		
Alexandria	200	360	
To Alexanda. by this Rout		663	

From Detroit to Alexandria avoiding Pensylvania *

To the Mo. of Cayahoga		125	Miles
The carrying place with Muskingham River		54	
Portage		1	
The Mo. of Muskingham		192	
The little Kanhawa		12	384

* the mouth of Cheat River and 2 Miles up it is in Pensyla.

Up the same		40	
Portage to the West Bra		10	50
Down Monongahela to Cheat		80	
Up Cheat to the Dunker Botm.		25	
Portage to the No. bra. Potomk		20	
Fort Cumberland		40	
Alexandria		200	365
Total by this Rout			799

From Detroit to Richmond

To the Mouth of the little Kanhawa as above		384	Miles
The Great Kanhawa by Hutcins's Table of Distances	98½		
The Falls of the Kanhawa from information	90		
A portage (suppe)	10		
The Mouth of Green brier and up it to the Portage	50		
Portage to James Rr	33	281	
Richmond		175	
Total		840	

Note — This Rout *may be* more incorrect than either of the foregoing, as I had only the Maps, and vague information for the Portages — and for the distances from the Mouth of the Kan-

hawa to the Carrying place with Jacksons (that is James) River and the length of that River from the Carrying place to Richmond — the length of the carrying place above is also taken from the Map tho' from Information one would have called it not more than 20 Miles.

From Detroit to Philadelphia is

		Miles
To Presque Isle		245
Portage to Lebeauf	15	
Down french Creek to Venango	75	
Along the Ohio to Toby's Creek	25	115
to the head spring of Do.	45	
By a Strait line to the nearest Water of Susquea	15	
Down the same to the West branch	50	
Fort Augusta at the Fork	125	
Mackees (or Mackoneys) Ck.	12	
Up this	25	
By a strait line to Schuylkl.	15	
Reading	32	
Philadelphia	62	381
Total		741

By another Rout

To Fort Pitt as before	303
Up the Ohio to Tobys Ck.	95
Thence to Phila. as above	381
Total	779

Note — The distances of places from the Mouth of Tobys Creek to Philada. are taken wholly from a comparative view of Evan's[1] and Sculls Maps[2] — The number, and length of the Portages; are not attempted to be given with greater exactness than these — and for want of more competent knowledge, they are taken by a strait line between the sources of the different Waters which by the Maps have the nearest communication

[1] Lewis Evans's map of the Middle Colonies, first published in 1755. Washington was using, probably, the enlarged edition published by Thomas Pownall in 1776.

[2] William Scull's map of Pennsylvania, 1770. William was the son of Nicholas, who had been Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania.

with each other — consequently these Routs, if there is any truth in the Maps, must be longer than the given distances — particularly in the Portages, or Land part of the Transportation, because no Road among Mountns. can be strait — or waters navigable to their fountain heads.

From Detroit to Albany is		
To Fort Erie, at the No. end of Lake Erie..	350	
Fort Niagara — 18 Miles of wch. is Land transpn.....	30	380
Oswego.....		175
Fall of Onondaga River.....	12	
Portage.....	1	
Oneida Lake by Water.....	40	
Length of Do. to Wood Ck.....	18	
Wood Ck. very small and Crooked.....	25	
Portage to Mohawk.....	1	97
Down it to the Portage.....	60	
Portage.....	1	
Schenectady.....	55	
Portage to Albany.....	15	131
In all.....		783
To the City of New York.....		160
Total.....		943
From Detroit to Montreal is		
To Fort Niagara as above.....		380
North end of Lake Ontario.....	225	
Oswegatche.....	60	
Montreal — very rapid.....	110	395
In all.....		775
To Quebec.....		180
Total.....		955

Admitting the preceeding Statement, which as has been observed is given from the best and most authentic Maps and papers in my possession — from information — and partly from observation, to be tolerably just, it would be

nugatory to go about to prove that the Country within, and bordering upon the Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan would be more convenient when they came to be settled — or that they would embrace with avidity our Markets, if we should remove the obstructions which are at present in the way to them.

It may be said, because it has been said, and because there are some examples of it in proof, that the Country of Kentucke, about the Falls,[1] and even much higher up the Ohio, have carried flour and other articles to New Orleans — but from whence has it proceeded? Will any one who has ever calculated the difference between Water and Land transportation wonder at this? — especially in an infant settlement where the people are poor and weak handed — and pay more regard to their ease than to loss of time, or any other circumstance?

Hitherto, the people of the Western Country having had no excitements to Industry, labour very little; — the luxuriency of the Soil, with very little culture, produces provisions in abundance — these supplies the wants of the encreasing population — and the Spaniards when pressed by want have given high prices for flour — other articles they reject; and at times, (contrary I think to sound policy) shut their ports against them altogether — but let us open a good communication with the Settlements west of us — extend the inland Navigation as far as it can be done with convenience — and shew them by this means, how easy it is to bring the produce of their Lands to our Markets, and see how astonishingly our exports will be increased; and these States benefitted in a commercial point of view — wch. alone is an object of such Magnitude as to claim our closest attention — but when the subject is considered in a political point of view, it appears of much greater importance.

[1] Falls of the Ohio River.

No well informed Mind need be told, that the flanks and rear of the United territory are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too — nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of it together, by one indissoluble band — particularly the middle States with the Country immediately back of them — for what ties let me ask, should we have upon those people; and how entirely unconnected shod. we be with them if the Spaniards on their right or great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling blocks in their way as they now do; should invite their trade and seek alliances with them? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than is generally imagined (from the emigration of Foreigners who can have no predeliction for us, as well as from the removal of our own Citizens) may be the consequence of their having formed such connections and alliances; requires no uncommon foresight to predict.

The Western Settlers — from my own observation — stand as it were on a pivot — the touch of a feather would almost incline them any way — they looked down the Mississippi until the Spaniards (very impoliticly I think for themselves) threw difficulties in the way, and for no other reason that I can conceive than because they glided gently down the stream, without considering perhaps the tediousness of the voyage back, and the time necessary to perform it in; and because they have no other means of coming to us but by a long land transportation and unimproved Roads.

A combination of circumstances make the present conjuncture more favorable than any other to fix the trade of the Western Country to our Markets. The jealous and untoward disposition of the Spaniards on one side, and the private views of some individuals coinciding with the policy of the Court of G. Britain on the other, to retain the Posts of Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, &ca. (which tho' done

under the letter of the treaty is certainly an infraction of the Spirit of it, and injurious to the Union) may be improved to the greatest advantage by this State if she would open her arms, and embrace the means which are necessary to establish it. The way is plain, and the expence, comparitively speaking deserves not a thought, so great would be the prize. The Western Inhabitants would do their part towards accomplishing it, weak as they now are, they would, I am persuaded meet us half way rather than be *driven* into the arms of, or be in any wise dependent upon, foreigners; the consequence of which would be, a seperation, or a War.

The way to avoid both, happily for us, is easy, and dictated by our clearest interest. It is to open a wide door, and make a smooth way for the produce of that Country to pass to our Markets before the trade may get into another channel — this, in my judgment, would dry up the other Sources; or if any part should flow down the Mississippi, from the Falls of the Ohio, in Vessels which may be built — fitted for Sea — and sold with their Cargoes, the proceeds I have no manner of doubt, will return this way; and that it is better to prevent an evil than to rectify a mistake none can deny — commercial connections of all others, are most difficult to dissolve — if we wanted proof of this, look to the avidity with which we are renewing, after a *total* suspension of Eight years, our corrispondence with Great Britain; — So, if we are supine, and suffer without a struggle the Settlers of the Western Country to form commercial connections with the Spaniards, Britons, or with any of the States in the Union we shall find it a difficult matter to dissolve them altho' a better communication should thereafter, be presented to them — time only could effect it; such is the force of habit!

Rumseys discovery of working Boats against stream, by mechanical powers principally, may not only be considered

as a fortunate invention for these States in general but as one of those circumstances which have combined to render the present epoche favorable above all others for securing (if we are disposed to avail ourselves of them) a large portion of the produce of the Western Settlements, and of the Fur and Peltry of the Lakes, also — the importation of which alone, if there were no political considerations in the way, is immense.

It may be said perhaps, that as the most direct Routs from the Lakes to the Navigation of Potomack are through the State of Pensylvania — and the intert. of that State opposed to the extension of the Waters of Monongahela, that a communication cannot be had either by the Yohiogany or Cheat River; — but herein I differ — an application to this purpose would in my opinion, place the Legislature of that Commonwealth in a very delicate situation. That it would not be pleasing I can readily conceive, but that they would refuse their assent, I am by no means clear in. There is in that State, at least 100,000 Souls West of the Laurel hill, who are groaning under the inconveniences of a long land transportation. They are wishing, indeed looking, for the extension of inland Navigation; and if this can not be made easy for them to Philadelphia — at any rate it must be lengthy — they will seek a Mart elsewhere; and none is so convenient as that which offers itself through Yohiogany or Cheat River — the certain consequence therefore of an attempt to restrain the extension of the Navigation of these Rivers, (so consonant with the interest of these people) or to impose any extra duties upon the exports, or imports, to or from another State, would be a seperation of the Western Settlers from the old and more interior government; towards which there is not wanting a disposition at this moment in the former.

1784

October 5–December 31

Diary missing, or not kept

1785

January 1–December 31

Original in the Library of Congress

This year is entered in three note-book volumes, beginning in No. 26 and ending in No. 28 (which also includes January 1–16, 1786, *see* List, vol. 1, p. xvii).

1785

JANUARY

Monday, 1*st*. Colo. Bassett who brought his daughter Fanny to this place to remain, on the 24th of last Month, set off on his return to the Assembly now sitting at Richmond.

I took a ride to my Plantations in the Neck, and called to see my Neighbour Humphrey Peake, who has been long afflicted with ill health and appears to be in the last stage of life and very near his end.

Sunday, 2*d*. Doctr. Craik came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Monday, 3*d*. Doctr. Stuart, his Wife, Betcy and Patcy Custis[1] who had been here since the 27th Ulto., returned home.

Doctr. Craik visited Mr. Peake and returned to Dinner. While we were at Dinner Colo. Blackburn and his daughter Sally came. The whole remained the Evening.

Tuesday, 4*th*. Colo. Blackburn went to Alexandria, leaving his daughter here. Doctr. Craik attempted to cross the river at my Ferry, but failing on acct. of the Ice returned, and stayed to dinner, and the evening.

Wednesday, 5*th*. The Doctr. in vain attempted my ferry and being disappointed went to George Town with a view of crossing on the Ice. Colo. Blackburn returned this Evening from Alexandria.

[1] Betsey and Patsey Custis were Eliza Parke and Martha Parke Custis, children of John Parke Custis, then nine and eight years old respectively. Dr. David Stuart, as previously stated, married John Parke Custis's widow.

Thursday, 6th. Colo. Blackburn and his daughter left this after breakfast.

Friday, 7th. Road to my Mill, Ferry, Dogue run,[1] and Muddy hole Plantations. Preparing my dry well, and the Well in my New Cellar for the reception of Ice.

Saturday, 8th. Drawing Ice from the river to my well in the Cellar. Got it ¾ full and well pounded, as it was thrown in.

Monday, 10th. Made a finish of the Ice in my Well in the Cellar, and began [to] fill the dry well; but the Ice unexpectedly leaving the Shore was obliged to quit. But little thawing to day, notwithstanding the Wind and Weather.

Tuesday, 11th. Mercury at 38 in the Morning 40 at Noon and 44 at Night. Until Noon it was foggy, with but little wind. Afternoon it cleared and was very pleasant — the Wind pretty fresh from the So. West which, bringing the Ice to the Shore again, I renewed the Work of filling my dry well with it by Assemblg. Carts and hands from my Plantations.

Wednesday, 12th. Road to my Mill Swamp, where my Dogue run hands were at Work, and to other places in search of the sort of Trees I shall want for my Walks, groves, and Wildernesses.[2]

At the Sein Landing and between that and the point at the old Brick kiln I found about half a dozn. young Elm

[1] From about this date Washington adopted the spelling as Dogue Run, a variant of the earlier Doeg. The Dogi, or Doeg Indians, from whence the name, early became extinct in the Virginia tide-water region.

[2] Washington called the Wildernesses the uncared-for forest to the north and south of the Serpentine Road, beyond the kitchen gardens.

trees, but not very promising ones. Many thriving ash trees on high (at least dry) ground of proper size for transplanting, and a great abundance of the Red-bud of all sizes. In the field which I bought of Barry and Miss Wade along the drain, and prongs of it, are one or two more; but rather of large size; but in the latter (a prong of the drain in Barry's field) there are great abundance of the White Thorn (now full of the red Berries in clusters). Within the Meadow fence at the Mill, and within that Inclosure next Isaac Gates's, are some young Crab apple trees and young Pine trees in the old field of all sizes; and in the Branch of Hell hole betwn. the Gate and its mouth are a number of very fine young Poplars, Locusts, Sasafras, and Dog wood, some Maple Trees on high ground, and 2 or 3 Shrubs (in wet ground) wch. I take to be of the Fringe tree.[1]

About Sun down Lewis LeMart,[2] one of my Tenants in Fauquier and Collector of the Rents arising from the Tract on which he lives came in with some money and stayed all Night.

Thursday, 13*th*. Was invited, and went to the Funeral of Mr. Peake who died on Tuesday night. Returnd to Dinner, accompanied by the Revd. Doctr. Griffith.[3] Found a Mr. Dalby (an English Gentlemen) here — both of whom stayed all Night.

Friday, 14*th*. Mr. Griffith and Mr. Dalby both went away after breakfast. Received an Invitation to the Funeral of Mr. Thos. Kirkpatrick[4] at 3 oclock tomorrow, but excused myself.

[1] The fringe-tree is a small tree of the ash variety. It bears loose drooping panicles of white flowers which suggest the name. The purple fringe-tree is called the smoke-tree.

[2] Washington paid Le Mart a commission for these collections amounting to £3.12*s*.

[3] The Reverend David Griffith, of Christ Church, Alexandria.

[4] Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Fairfax County.

Yesterday and this day also was closely employed in getting ice into my dry well.

Monday, 17*th*. Went to and returned from Alexandria to day. At my return found dispatches from the Assembly respecting the Potomack Navigation.[1]

Tuesday, 18*th*. Sent the dispatches which came to me yesterday to Messrs. Fitzgerald and Hartshorne[2] (managers named in the act for improving and extending the Navigation of Potomack and) who are appointed to receive Subscriptions,[3] that they might get copies of the Act printed and act under them.

Wednesday, 19*th*. Employed until dinner in laying out my Serpentine road[4] and shrubberies adjoining.

Just as we had done dinner a Mr. Watson,[5] late of the House of Watson & Cossoul[6] of Nantes, and a Mr. Swift, Merchant in Alexandria, came in, and stayed all Night.

[1] News that on January 5, 1785, the Virginia Assembly had passed an act authorizing the formation of the Potomac Company. Maryland had agreed to the navigation of the river and this company of 1785 was the legitimate successor of the old Potomac Company of pre-Revolutionary days.

[2] John Fitzgerald and William Hartshorne; the latter became treasurer of the Potomac Company.

[3] Subscription books were opened at Richmond, Alexandria, Winchester, Annapolis, Frederick, and Georgetown.

[4] The Serpentine Road enclosed the great lawn on the west of the Mansion House. It consisted of a large circular road from the front, or west door, of the Mansion, and from each side of this circle an undulating carriage drive swept outward to swing around and meet at the gate leading from the Mount Vernon grounds to the Alexandria highway; bounding the far side of the Serpentine, at its western limits, were mounds on which grew weeping willows, so grouped as not to interfere with the view of the distant woods from the Mansion House. A manuscript sketch plan, by Samuel Vaughan, of the Serpentine Road is preserved at Mount Vernon. It is reproduced, as an illustration, in Paul Wilstach's *Mount Vernon* (New York, 1916), p. 150.

[5] Elkanah Watson. In his memoirs he tells of this visit to Mount Vernon; of his coughing at night and of Washington's coming to his bedside with a bowl of hot tea for his relief.

[6] Watson & Cossoul, merchants, of Nantes, France. They had acted as com-

Thursday, 20*th*. Mr. Watson and Mr. Swift went away after breakfast. I continued my employment of yesterday — arranging the Walk, etca., Began to grub and clear the undergrowth in my Pine Grove on the Margin of Hell hole.

Friday, 21*st*. This day a large Ship went up. On Tuesday last 4 square rigged vessels also went past, wch. was the first day the Navigation opened so as to admit this, since the frost commenced on the 4th instant.

Saturday, 22*d*. In the Evening Doctr. Craik, Junr. came here and stayed all Night.

Sunday, 23*d*. Doctr. Craik left this after breakfast, attending Miss Bassett, to his Fathers, to the Wedding of his Sister Sally.

Monday, 24*th*. Renewed my labors on the walks, Shrubberies, etca., but was much interrupted by the unsettledness of the Weather.

Tuesday, 25*th*. A little before Dinner a Doctor Gilpin and a Mr. Scott, two West India Gentlemen, came here introduced by a letter from Mr. Rob. Morris [1] of Philadelphia; and a little after them a Mr. Blaine,[2] all of whom stayed the Evening.

Thursday, 27*th*. Made Mr. and Mrs. Lund Washington a

mercial agents for the United States during the Revolution. The Masonic apron they sent to Washington in 1782 is now in the possession of the Alexandria Lodge.

[1] Morris's letter introduces Gilpin, Scott, and a Mr. Colby, but gives no first names. It is possible that Colby visited Mount Vernon ahead of the rest and it is he whom Washington calls Mr. Dalby. (See entry under January 13th.)

[2] Ephraim Blaine (?), of Pennsylvania.

morning's visit. From thence I went to Belvoir [1] and viewed the ruined Buildings of that place. In doing this I passed along the side of Dogue Creek and the River to the White Ho. in search of Elm and other Trees for my Shrubberies, etca. Found none of the former, but discovered one fringe Tree and a few Crab trees in the first field beyond my line, and in returning home (which I did to Dinner) by the way of Accatinck Creek I found several young Holly trees growing near Lawson Parker's.

Friday, 28*th*. Road to day to my Plantations in the Neck, partly with a view to search for Trees; for which purpose I passed through the Woods and in the first drain beyond the Bars in my lower pasture, I discovered in tracing it upwards, many small and thriving plants of the Magnolio, and about and within the Fence, not far distant, some young Maple Trees; and the red berry of the Swamp. I also, along the Branch within Colo. Mason's field, where Mr. T. Triplett [2] formerly lived, came across a mere nursery of young Crab trees of all sizes and handsome and thriving, and along the same branch on the outer side of the fence I discovered several young Holly Trees. But whether from the real scarcity, or difficulty of distinguishing, I could find none of the fringe tree.

Sunday, 30*th*. In the afternoon Mr. Willm. Scott [3] with the two Miss Blackburns came in and stayed the Night.

Monday, 31*st*. About one Oclock Mr. Wm. Hunter of Alexa. with a Mr. Hadfield (a Manchester Mercht.) recommended by Colo. Sam. Smith [4] of Baltimore, and Colo.

[1] 'Belvoir' had been destroyed by fire early in the year 1783.

[2] Thomas Triplett.

[3] Son of the Reverend James Scott, of Prince William County. He was uncle of the Miss Blackburns.

[4] Colonel Samuel Smith, had been lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Maryland

Fitzgerald and a Mr. Dawson [1] came in, Dined and returned to Alexandria.[2]

FEBRUARY

Wednesday, 2*d*. The Snow this morning is about 9 Inches deep and pretty well compressed. Mr. Scott went away after Breakfast. Employed myself (as there could be no stirring without) [3] in writing Letters by the Post and in signing 83 Diplomas for the members of the Society of the Cincinnati,[4] and sent them to the care of Colo. Fitzgerald in Alexandria, to be forwarded to General Williams [5] of Baltimore, the Assistant Secretary of the Society.

Thursday, 3*d*. Mr. Benj'n Dulany came here to Dinner and returned afterwards.

We concluded a bargain which has been long in agitation for the Exchange of his Land in this Neck, which he and his Wife have the reversion of, for the tract I bought of Messrs. Adam, Dow, and McIver [6] on Hunting Creek. The Exchange is simply Tract for Tract; but as he cannot put me in possession of his, Mrs. French his wife's Mother having her life in it, he is to pay me, during that period, or

Regiment during the Revolution and commanded at the desperate defense of Fort Mifflin. He was, at this time, one of the Port Wardens of Baltimore.

[1] William (?) Dawson, from the Shenandoah Valley.

[2] A letter, bearing upon the oft-repeated misstatement that Washington was a Marshal of France, was this day written by the General to Aneas Lamont, who had sent a gift of his political works: 'It behoves me to correct a mistake in your printed address "To the patrons of the fine Arts." I am not a Marshall of France — nor do I hold any Commission, or fill any Office under that Government — or any other whatever.' The letter-record copy is in the Washington Letter Books, Library of Congress. This printed statement of Lamont's was largely responsible for the Marshal of France myth.

[3] The letters were to General O. H. Williams and Clement Biddle.

[4] Washington was President of the Society of the Cincinnati; a society formed in 1783 by the officers of the Continental Army for mutual assistance and to perpetuate the principles of liberty for which the officers had fought.

[5] Otho Holland Williams; he had been a brigadier-general in the Revolution.

[6] Dowe & McIver were business partners in 1774.

until she shall relinquish her right therein, and the full and absolute possession is vested in me, the same annual rent I now receive from Mr. Dow, viz. One Hundd. and twenty pounds Virga. Curry. Writings and conveyances to this effect to be drawn by Mr. Charles Lee,[1] who from both is to be furnished with the necessary Papers.

Friday, 4th. The two Miss Blackburns left this after breakfast, in order to return home, but it is to be [feared] they would meet with some difficulty at the ferry at Occoquan.

Sunday, 6th. Doctr. Brown[2] was sent for to Frank (waiter in the House), who had been seized in the Night with a bleeding of the Mouth from an Orifice made by a Doctr. Dick,[3] who some days before attempted in vain to extract a broken tooth, and coming about 11 oclock stayed to Dinner and returned afterwards.

Tuesday, 8th. Finding that I should be very late in preparing my Walks and Shrubberies if I waited till the ground should be uncovered by the dissolution of the Snow — I had it removed where necessary and began to wheel dirt into the Ha; Haws,[4] &ca. tho' it was exceeding miry and bad working.

Wednesday, 9th. Transplanted an English Walnut tree

[1] Charles Lee (1758–1815), of 'Gordonsdale,' in Fauquier County. He attended to much of Washington's legal business after the Revolution. Washington appointed him Naval Officer of the Potomac District in 1789 and Attorney-General of the United States in 1795, which office he held until 1801.

[2] Dr. William Brown, of Alexandria, brother of Dr. Gustavus Brown, of Port Tobacco, Maryland.

[3] Dr. Elisha C. Dick, of Alexandria.

[4] The ha-ha walls were a method of permitting the grazing cattle and sheep to appear on the landscape and at the same time hold them at a distance from the house. They converted the lawns into a series of flat terraces and both the walls and the terrace effect was invisible from the house. An excellent photograph of the south ha-ha wall is in Wilstack's *Mount Vernon*, p. 266.

from the Corner near where the old Schoolhouse[1] stood to the opposite side wch. with the one that was moved in the fall, were intended to answer the two remaining ones; but from their size and age I have little expectation of their living. Also moved the Apricots and Peach Trees which stood in the borders of the grass plats, which from the same causes little expectation is entertained of their living. These were placed under the Wall in the North Garden on each side of the Green House, and an old pair tree was mo[ve]d at the same time into the lowr. square of the South Garden, from which less hopes of its living were entertained than of any of the others.

Road to where my Dogue run people were grubbing in the Mill Swamp and Meadow.

In the Afternoon Fanny Bassett returned from Doctr. Craik's, accompanied by his Son William.

Thursday, 10*th*. Road up to Alexandria to day and dined with Colo. Fitzgerald.

Friday, 11*th*. Employed all day in marking the ground for the reception of my Shrubs.

In the Evening a Mr. Andrews, Jeweller in Philadelphia, called to shew me an Eagle Medal, which he had made, and was about to offer as specimen of his Workmanship to the Members of the Society of Cincinnati[2] in hopes of being employed by them in that way. He was accompanied by a Mr. ——, name not known.

Saturday, 12*th*. Planted Eight young Pair Trees sent me by Doctr. Craik in the folowing places, viz.

[1] The schoolhouse was at the west end of the north kitchen garden.

[2] The emblem of the Society of the Cincinnati is a bald eagle, in gold, with an oval on its breast, in which is a representation of Cincinnatus receiving the mace at his plough; the motto of the society encircles the oval. A number of the eagles, made in France, had not been disposed of by the year 1788, and there seems to be no record of Mr. Andrews being successful in his project.

2 Orange Burgamots in the No. Garden, under the back walk — 3d tree from the Green House at each end of it.

1 Burgamot at the Corner of the border in the South Garden just below the necessary.

2 St. Germains, one in each border (middle thereof) of the upper Squares by the Asparagus Bed, and Artichoake Ditto, upper border.

3 Brown Berries in the west square in the Second plat, viz. 1 on the border (middle thereof) next the Fall or slope, the other two on the border above the walk next the old stone wall.

Received an Invitation to the Funeral of Willm. Ramsay, Esqr. of Alexandria, the oldest Inhabitt. of the Town; and went up. Walked in a procession as a free mason, Mr. Ramsay in his life being one, and now buried with the ceremonies and honors due to one.

The ground getting uncovered, I again with my people from the Quarters, began to clear up the ground under the Pines, and along the bottom of H[ell] Hole and its branches. This Work I renewed yesterday and contd. it today.

Mr. Willm. Craik called and dined in his way home.

Monday, 14*th*. In company with Mrs. Washington made a visit to Colo. McCarty and family, dined there, and returned home afterwds.

Tuesday, 15*th*. Went this day to ascertain the quantity of Land given to, and received from Mr. Willm. Triplett by way of exchange and to run a dividing line betwn. him and the Land I let Mr. Lund Washington; but the badness of the day prevented the execution. Thursday next I appointed to go again on this business.

Wednesday, 16*th*. Transplanted along the So. side of the

Wall of the No. Garden, the Ivy; which I had taken up with as much dirt about the roots of it as I could obtain.

Thursday, 17*th*. In the morning early I went to Mr. L. Washington's (to Breakfast) in order to finish the Work I had began on Tuesday last, but after having plotted and measured the slipes which were to be given in Exchange for the Land below the Race, I found it did not agree with my former measurements and therefore left the business undetermined until I could go there again and run some lines of Harrison's Patent, or compare it more carefully with my former Works.

Dined with Mr. Willm. Triplett and returned home in the afternoon. Soon after which the two Doctr. Jenifers [1] came, and stayed the Evening.

Friday, 18*th*. The two Doctr. Jenifers went to Alexandria after breakfast.

Planted border of Ivy under the No. side of the So. Garden wall.

Also four Lime or Linden Trees, sent me by Govr. Clinton [2] of New York, which must have been out of the ground since the middle of Novr. without any dirt about the Roots and only a covering of Mat. These were planted in the Serpentine Roads to the door, the 3d trees on each side next the walls and the second trees on each side next the grass plat.

Saturday, 19*th*. Went to Mr. Triplett's and rectified the mistakes in running the Lines, and finished the business respecting the quantities of Land given in Excha. and the partition between him and Mr. Lund Washington.

[1] Dr. Daniel Jenifer, Jr., and Dr. Walter Jenifer, of St. Mary's County, Maryland.

[2] Governor George Clinton.

Finished planting Ivy in front of the Gardens.

My Nephew George Steptoe Washington[1] came here to Dinner from the Academy at George Town.

Monday, 21*st.* Went to Alexandria with Mrs. Washington. Dined at Mr. Dulany's and exchanged Deeds for conveyances of Land with him and Mrs. Dulany, giving mine, which I bought of Messrs. Robert Adam, Dow, and McIver, for the reversion of what Mrs. Dulany is entitled to at the death of her Mother within the bounds of Spencer & Washington's Patent.

Fanny Bassett, who went on Thursday last to the wedding of Miss Blackburn, returned, accompanied by my Nephew Bushrod Washington.[2] George Steptoe Washington returned this morning to the Academy at George Town, and in the Evening the Manager of his and [his] Brother's Estate came here with some money for their use — sent by my Brother Charles.

Tuesday, 22*d.* Removed two pretty large and full grown Lilacs to the No. Garden gate, one on each side, taking up as much dirt with the roots as cd. be well obtained. Also a mock orange to the walk leading to the No. Necessary.

I also removed from the Woods and the old fields, several young Trees of the Sassafras, Dogwood, and Red bud, to the shrubbery on the No. side the grass plat.

Wednesday, 23*d.* Planted trees on the South Shrubbery similar to those of yesterday, in the South Shrubbery, except the Lilacs, for which I thought the ground too wet.

[1] George Steptoe and Lawrence Washington were attending the Georgetown Academy of the Reverend Stephen Bloomer Balch, a Presbyterian minister. The expense becoming greater, through the thoughtlessness of the two boys, than Washington thought proper, he recalled them toward the end of this year.

[2] Bushrod Washington was the uncle, by marriage, of the bride, he having married Ann Blackburn, the sister of the bride's father.

Brought down a number of young Aspan trees from one Saml. Jenkin's near the old Court House,[1] to transplant in to the Serpentine Avenues to the Door. As they came late I had the roots buried until they could be transplanted in the places they are intended to grow.

Thursday, 24*th*. About two Inches of Snow fell in the Night; before daylight it began to rain, and continued to do so until near Sundown when it ceased; and the horizon became clear to the Westward. Prevented by the weather from preparing my grounds or transplanting trees.

Friday, 25*th*. Laid of part of the Serpentine Road on the South side the grass plat, to day. Prevented going on with it, first by the coming in of Mr. Michael Stone[2] about 10 Oclock (who went away before noon); then by the arrival of Colo. Hooe,[3] Mr. Chas. Alexander, and Mr. Chas. Lee before dinner, and Mr. Crawford, his Bride, and Sister after it.

The same cause prevented my transplanting trees in my Shrubberies, and obliged me to cover the roots of many which had been dug up (particularly Dogwood, Maple, Poplar, and Mulberry), the ground not being marked for their reception.

Colo. Hooe, Mr. Cha. Alexander and Mr. Lee, went away after Dinner.

Saturday, 26*th*. Finished laying out my Serpentine roads. Dug most of the holes where the trees by the side of them are to stand, and planted some of the Maple, which were dug yesterday, and some of the Aspan, which had been brought here on Wednesday last.

[1] Fairfax Court-House.
[2] Michael J. Stone (?), of Maryland.
[3] Robert Townsend Hooe, the first mayor of Alexandria.

Sunday, 27*th*. After Breakfast Mr. Crawford, his Wife and Sister went away. They crossed at my Fer[ry] to Marlborough. Mr. Bushrod Washington also set off for his father's, passing through Maryland.

Monday, 28*th*. Planted all the Mulberry trees, Maple trees, and Blackgums in my Serpentine Walks, and the Poplars on the right walk, the Sap of which and the Mulberry appeared to be Moving. Also planted 4 trees from H[ell] Hole, the Name unknown, but of a brittle wood which has the smell of Mulberry.

MARCH

Tuesday, 1*st*. Planted the remainder of the Poplars and part of the Ash Trees. Also a circle of Dogwood with a red bud in the Middle, close to the old Cherry tree near the South Garden Ho[use].

Began with my two Tumblers to Cart Dung upon the Ground designed for Clover and orchard grass.

Wednesday, 2*d*. Planted the remainder of the Ash Trees in the Serpentine walks, the remainder of the fringe trees in the Shrubberies, all the black haws, all the large berried thorns, with a small berried one in the middle of each clump, 6 small berried thorns with a large one in the middle of each clump, all the swamp red berry bushes, and one clump of locust trees.

Thursday, 3*d*. Planted the remainder of the Locusts, Sassafras, small berried thorn and yellow Willow in the Shrubberies; as also the red buds, a honey locust and service tree by the South Garden House, likewise took up the clump of Lilacs that stood at the corner of the South Grass plat and transplanted them to the clusters in the

Shrubberies and standards at the South Garden gate. The Althea trees were also planted.

Employed myself the greatest part of the day in pruning and shaping the young plantation of Trees and Shrubs.

In the Evening Mr. Story,[1] formerly an Assistant to Genel. Greene and afterwards aid de Camp to Lord Stirling, came in and spent the Evening.

Friday, 4th. Planted two more Service trees at the North Garden Wall, one on each side the gate; two catalpas (large) West of the Garden House; 28 Crab-trees, and the like number of Magnolia; besides a number of little sprouts from 6 Inches to two feet high of the last mentioned tree. The Magnolia had good roots wch. were well enclosed with the Earth they grew in. Also compleated my Serpentine walks with Elm trees. After breakfast Mr. Story went away and about noon Colo. Mercer came in and spent the remaining part of the day and Night here.

Saturday, 5th. Planted all the Holly trees to day — most of them with a good deal of dirt about the Roots; but they were very indifferent trees, having stragling limbs and not well leaved.

Colo. Mercer went away after breakfast. I rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole Plantn.

Monday, 7th. Planted all my Cedars, all my Papaw, and two Honey locust Trees in my Shrubberies, and two of the latter in my groves — one at each [side] of the House, and a large Holly tree on the Point going to the Sein landing.

Began to raise the Bank of Earth and to turf it, along the Northernmost row of Trees in the Serpentine Walk on the right.

[1] Major John Story, of Massachusetts, a brigade quartermaster in 1777 and aide in 1778 to Major-General William Alexander (called Lord Stirling).

Finished Plowing the Ground adjoining the Pine Grove, designed for Clover and orchard grass seed.

Tuesday, 8*th.* In the Night there fell a good deal of rain which about Sun rise changed to hail and sleet wch. prevailed through the day, and loaded the Trees with Ice with the weight of which the Evergreens in my Shrubberies were a good deal bowed.

Wind pretty fresh all day at East. The ground was covered about an Inch with the hail, etca.

Wednesday, 9*th.* A great deal of rain fell last Night and the heaviest sleet I ever recollect to have seen.

The bows of all the trees were encrusted by tubes of Ice, quite round, at least half an Inch thick, the weight of which was so great that my late transplantations in many instances sunk under it either by bending the bodies of the young trees, breaking the limbs, or weighing up the roots. The largest pines in my outer circle were quite oppressed by the Ice; and bowed to the ground, whilst others were loosened at the roots, and the largest Catalpa trees had some of their principal branches broken. The ground also where the holes had been dug to receive the Trees, and where it had not been rammed, was a mere quagmire.

The ground this Morning was covered nearly two inches with Snow, little of wch. remained at Night.

The ground being covd. with Snow the fore part of the day, and in no condition to work, the latter part I set the jobbers to pounding the plaister of Paris by hand for want of other and better convenience to do it.

Thursday, 10*th.* Sent my Waggon with the Posts for the Oval in my Court Yard, to be turned by a Mr. Ellis at the T[u]rng. [sic] Mill on Pohick, and to proceed from thence

to Occoquan for the Scion[1] of the Hemlock in my Shrubberies.

Continued with my jobbers to pound the Plaister of Paris as the Earth was too hard frozen to be dealt with.

Went to return the visits of Colo. Mason, and others in his Neighbourhood. Called first at Mr. Lawrence Washington's, who being from home, I proceeded to Colo. Mason's, where I dined and lodged.

Friday, 11*th*. Left Colo. Mason's about 12 oclock, dined with Mr. Martin Cockburn and came home in the afternoon.

Planted the Hemlock Scions which were brought home yesterday, 28 in number in the shrubbery, 2 poplar trees wch. had been omitted (by an oversight) in my serpentine Walks before; and 13 Weeping and 13 Yellow Willow trees alternately along the Post and Rail fence from the Kitchen to the South ha-haw and from the Servants' Hall to the Smith's Shop.

Brought 9 scions of the Portugal Peach from Mr. Cockburn's with me.

Saturday, 12*th*. Went to Abingdon[2] to see Mr. John Lewis[3] who lay sick there. Returned in the Afternoon and brot. Betcy Custis home with me.

Planted two Hemlock trees in a line with the East end of my Kitchen, and Servants' Hall and 10 feet from the corner of the Post and rail fence at each.

Had a Bushel of the Plaister of Paris (which my people had been pounding) sifted and weighed, which, in this state, amounted to 82 lbs.

[1] Scion, a grafting shoot. Washington seems to have called young, root saplings scions, as he speaks of *planting* these shoots the next day. See also the entries about peach scions, February 11 and 14.

[2] Abingdon, about four miles above Alexandria, formerly the home of Robert Alexander and later that of John Parke Custis and his wife.

[3] John Lewis, son of Colonel Fielding Lewis.

Laid the borders of the gravel walk to the No. Necessary from the circle in the Court yard.

Sunday, 13*th.* Wind very fresh from the So. West, and great appearances of Rain in the forenoon. About noon the Wind ceased, and the Sun came out. After which it again clouded, the Wind shifted to the No. Et., and it set in for a serious Rain about 5 Oclock, which was unlucky on acct. of an open Boat load of Flour from my Mill, bound to Alexandria for Mr. Hartshorne and wch. I was obliged to detain at my Fish house under as good cover as I could provide for it.

Monday, 14*th.* My Boat with the flour went off about day break, but whether the flour received any damage or not I cannot tell.

Planted the young peach Trees which I brought from Mr. Cockburn's in the No. Garden, viz. 4 on the South border of the second walk (two on each side of the middle walk), 2 in the border of the walk leading from the Espalier hedge towards the other cross walk, and 3 under the South Walk of the Garden; that is two on the right as we enter the gate and one on the left. The other Peach tree to answer it, on that side and the two on the West Walk, parrallel to the Walnut trees were taken from the nursery in the Garden.

Drove Stakes to support the largest of the evergreens in my Shrubberies, the wind shaking and giving too much disturbance to the roots of them especially when the ground is soft.

Tuesday, 15*th.* Ground hard frozen in the Morning, Wind brisk (and cold) all day from the No. West; which made the borders to my Walk progress slowly.

Laid out a walk for the wilderness, intended on the No. of the Serpentine road on the right.

Began to open Vistas throu the Pine grove on the Banks of H. Hole.

Visited my Plantations at the Ferry, Muddy hole, and Dogue run.

Wednesday, 16*th*. Ground very hard froze and air sharp from the No. West all day, which prevented any movement of Earth.

About 1 Oclock a Mr. Alexander Donald came here — introduced by a letter from Govr. Henry.[1]

Thursday, 17*th*. No earth could be moved until the afternoon; and even then, it not being in good order it was not attempted.

Laid out a walk for the Wilderness intended on the South of the Serpentine road on the left.

After Breakfast Mr. Donald went away, and to dinner Colo. Andrew Lewis (Son of Genl. Andw. Lewis[2]) and a Mr. Neiley, came. Afterwards they crossed into Maryland.

Trimmed the Weeping and Yellow trees which were transplanted on the 10th and put 80 cuttings of the former into a nursery.

Friday, 18*th*. I went to my Dogue Run Plantation to make choice of the size, and to direct the taking up of Pine trees, for my two wildernesses. Brought 3 Waggon Load of them home, and planted every other hole round the Walks in them. Began with that on the right, which was planted before the wet fell, and better planted, that is, with more pains, the other (on the left), being hurried more and the ground wet and sticky.

[1] Patrick Henry.

[2] General Andrew Lewis was the first white settler in Augusta County, Virginia, and had been a brigadier in the Revolutionary War.

Also planted 20 Pine trees in the lines of Trees by the sides of the Serpentine roads to the House.

Received from Mr. Josh. Parke[1] of Norfolk a box containing young trees of the live oak and 10 Acorns, which I presume is from the same sort of Trees. A good deal of rain fell in the Night.

Saturday, 19*th*. Wind at No. Et. all day; and more or less rain, mixed in some degree with Snow; which with what fell in the Night made the ground so wet that I could plant no trees to day. Many of those planted yesterday yielded to the Wind and wet, and required propping.

Received a Swan, 4 wild Geese, and two Barrels of Holly Berries (in Sand) from my brother John,[2] and a Barrel of the early corn from New York.

Sunday, 20*th*. Major Jenifer[3] came here to dinner, and my carriage went to Gunston Hall to take Colo. Mason[4] to a meeting of Comrs. at Alexandria for settling the Jurisdiction of Chesapeak Bay and the Rivers Potomack and Pocomoke between the States of Virginia and Maryland[5] — the Commissioners on the Part of Virginia being Colo. Mason, the Attorney General,[6] Mr. Madison,[7] and Mr.

[1] Colonel Josiah Parker, of the Isle of Wight. (See note under April 6th, *post*.)

[2] The freightage on these cost Washington eighteen shillings.

[3] Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, of Maryland.

[4] George Mason.

[5] The frontier country in the vicinity of Will's Creek (Cumberland) and beyond had been in dispute between Virginia and Maryland since before the Revolution. In the course of the negotiations Virginia had, thoughtlessly, ceded to Maryland jurisdiction over the Potomac River, reserving to herself the right of free navigation only. This, later, was seen to be a mistake, and in 1784 James Madison carried a resolution through the Virginia Legislature for commissioners from Maryland and Virginia to frame regulations for the commerce of the Potomac. This commission, of which Washington was one, met at Annapolis in December, 1784, and evolved a plan the outcome of which was the meeting of a new body of commissioners from the two States at Alexandria, March 20, 1785.

[6] Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General of Virginia, and, later, Attorney-General and Secretary of State of the United States.

[7] James Madison (1751–1836), fourth President of the United States

Henderson;[1] on that of Maryland, Major Jenifer, Thoms. Johnson,[2] Thos. Stone [3] and Saml. Chase,[4] Esqrs.

Monday, 21*st*. Staked up the largest of my Trees in the Avenues and Wilderness and Shrubberies to day, which from the softness of the ground and impression made on them by the Wind were leaning.

Bought 150 Bushels of clean and good Oats from an Eastern shore Man at 2/4 pr. Bushel.

Major Jenifer left this for Alexandria after Dinner.

Tuesday, 22*d*. Mrs. Grayson [5] sent me 8 Yew and 4 Aspen trees and Colo. Mason some Cherry Grafts. Planted the intermediate holes round the Walk in the Wilderness on the right, and filled the spaces between with young Pines.

Went to Alexandria. Dined [6] and returned in the Evening.

Wednesday, 23*d*. Finished Planting the Pine trees in the Wilderness on the left — and planted 4 of the live Oak Trees (which I had received from Norfolk) in the Shrubberies on the right and left on the grass plat in front of the House. Staked most of the Pines that had been planted.

[1] Alexander Henderson, member of Virginia Legislature from Dumfries.

[2] Thomas Johnson (1732–1819), delegate to the Continental Congress. He nominated Washington to be Commander-in-Chief, and is credited with having brought Maryland to agreeing to the Articles of Confederation. He was one of the commissioners for laying-out the National Capital and a member of the Potomac Company.

[3] Thomas Stone (1743–87), Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

[4] Samuel Chase (1741–1811), Signer of the Declaration of Independence; member of the United States Constitutional Convention and Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. His impeachment for his actions during the Alien and Sedition excitement constitutes one of the famous trials in United States history.

[5] Mrs. William Grayson, wife of William, who had been an aide to Washington in the Revolution.

[6] 'By Dinner &c at Lomax's 10*s* 6*d*.' (*Cash Account.*)

Thursday, 24*th*. Finding the trees round the Walks in my Wildernesses rather too thin I doubled them by putting (other Pine) trees between each.

Laid of the Walks in my Groves at each end of the House.

Sent my Carriage to Alexandria for Colo. Mason according to appointment, who came in about dusk.

Friday, 25*th*. Planted some of the largest Pine trees on the circular bank which is intended to inclose the Court yard, Shrubberies, etca., and staked most of those wch. had been planted in the two wildernesses.

About One Oclock Major Jenifer, Mr. Stone, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Alexr. Henderson arrived here.

Saturday, 26*th*. My jobbers spent the greater part of this day in placing stakes for the support of the young Pine trees. Mr. G. Mason, jr. and Dr. Brown came, dined and returned.

Sunday, 27*th*. Mr. Walter Stone [1] dined here and went away afterwards. Mr. Henderson also went to Colchester after dinner to return in the morning.

Monday, 28*th*. Mr. Henderson returned to the Meeting of the Commissioners abt. 10 Oclock, and Mr. Chase went away after dinner.

Tuesday, 29*th*. Major Jenifer, Mr. Stone and Mr. Henderson went away before breakfast and Colo. Mason (in my carriage) after it; by the return of which he sent me some young shoots of the Persian Jessamine and Guilder Rose.

Transplanted in the groves at the ends of the House the

[1] Of Maryland.

following young trees, viz. 9 live Oak, 11 Yew or Hemlock, 10 Aspen, 4 Magnolia, 2 Elm, 2 Papaw, 2 Lilacs, 3 Fringe, 1 Swamp berry, etca.

Doctr. Stuart came in the afternoon.

Wednesday, 30*th*. Doctr. Stuart went away after breakfast and carried the three children, Betcy, Nelly and Washington Custis [2] with him to Abingdon. Arthur Lee, Esqr. came to Dinner.

Thursday, 31*st*. Mr. Lee went away after Breakfast, and in the Afternoon Mr. Thos. Hanson [1] and two of his Sisters arrived, and Nelly Hanson came in.

Planted the Scarlet or French honey suckle (as my Gardner calls it, and which he says blows all the Summer) at each Column of my covered ways, as also against the circular walls between the Store house, etca. and the two New Necessaries.

Also planted the Gilder Rose and Persian Jessamine opposite thereto on the Walks leading up to these necessaries, 4 of the first and six of the latter on each Walk.

APRIL

Friday, 1*st*. Mr. Hanson went away after breakfast.

Grafted 12 Duke, 12 May Duke, and 12 black May heart Cherries and 12 Burgamy Pears. The Cherries were chiefly on Stocks wch. had been taken up a considerable time, and the roots covered with Earth. These Cherries and pears are planted on the left of the Area leading from the Gate to the Green House in the following manner: next the cross walk are the Duke Cherries, then the May Duke, then the black May Heart, and lastly the Burgamy Pears.

[1] Of Maryland?
[2] George Washington Parke Custis.

A Peg is driven between each sort, the last being nearest the back Wall.

Again began to Right my Trees and ram round them.

Rid to my Ferry and Muddy hole Plantations.

Sunday, 3d. After Dinner Mr. George Lewis [1] and his wife and Mr. Chas. Carter [2] and his wife and Child came here, having been detained on the Road by the Weather.

Monday, 4th. Grafted six of the May white heart Cherry growing in my walk; and six of the small cherry opposite, on transplanted stocks, which were placed by the Area in front of the Green Ho. left hand approaching it, and in a line with the young Mulberry Cuttgs — the first sort standing next the cross walk, with a stake between them and the second sort. And my Gardener to shew his cunning, grafted ten Pairs from the Tree transplanted from the grass plat Feby. 9 (as will appear from this Diary) on Plumb Scions, and removed them to the Area above mentioned and along side the 12 Cherries, wch. I grafted and planted as above.

Went to Alexandria to attend the Funeral of Mrs. Ramsay [3] who died (after a lingering illness) on Friday last, and to present Colo. Hooe with Major Jenifer's order, and to obtain a draft, consequent thereof on New York, towards payment of my debt to Governor Clinton; [4] but his indisposition prevented my doing business with him.

[1] George Lewis, nephew of Washington and major and aide to him during the Revolution.

[2] Charles Carter, of Culpeper, married Betty Lewis, Washington's niece, in 1787.

[3] Widow of the late William Ramsay.

[4] Washington's debt to Governor George Clinton was for money lent by Clinton for the purchase of land in the Mohawk Valley, New York, which cost about £1800. In 1793 Washington sold two thirds of it for a net gain of over £1500, and at the time of his death he valued the remainder at $6000.

Dined at Mr. Muir's [1] and after the funerl. obsoques were ended, returned home.

Tuesday, 5th. Mr. Carter and Mr. Geo. Lewis went to Abingdon after breakfast.

Wednesday, 6th. Sowed the semicircle North of the front gate with Holly berries sent me by my Brother John — three drills of them: the middle one of Berries which had been got about Christmas and put in Sand, the other two of Berries which had been got earlier in the year, gently dried, and packed in Shavings.

Planted in a Nursery in my Vinyard 17 Live Oaks sent me by Colo. Parker [2] of Norfolk, 13 of one, and 7 of another kind of what I suppose to be the wild Honeysuckle, they being in different Bundles; and he having been written to for the wild Honeysuckle.

Sent my Shad Sein and Hands to the Ferry to commence Fishing for Messrs. Douglas & Smith,[3] who had engaged to take all the Shad and Herring I can catch in the Season, the first at 15/. a hundred, and the other at 4/. a thousand.

A Mr. Vidler, to whom I had written (an Undertaker at Annapolis) came here and opened the cases wch. contained my marble chimney piece [4] — but for want of workmen could not undertake to finish my New Room.

Mr. Carter, and Mr. Geo. Lewis returned here this afternoon.

[1] The Reverend James Muir, a Presbyterian clergyman, of Alexandria.

[2] See note under March 18th, *ante*. [3] Alexandria merchants.

[4] This mantel, of 'white and Sienite marbles,' came in February, 1785, from Samuel Vaughan, of London, a stranger to Washington, but who deeply admired his character and achievements. Its most striking feature, aside from its simplicity and symmetry, are the three panels, sculptured in high relief, celebrating agricultural life. It has never been removed from its original position and, with the white marble hearth, the grate, clock, vases, candlesticks, and flanking pedestals, it forms the one complete original group assembled in the Mansion to-day exactly as in the lifetime of its owner. (Wilstach's *Mount Vernon*, pp. 174–75.)

Thursday, 7*th*. This day I had assembled a number of Plows to prepare, if possible, the enclosure by my Barn and the Pine groves, for sowing my Grass Seeds; but I had not plowed one half of it before the Rain obliged me to desist.

Sowed the South Semicircle — rather half of it, for the lower part was too wet — with Holly berries in the same manner I did the No. one, with this difference, that the middle drill was sowed with the berries which had been dried and were packed in Shavings, and the outer drills of the other sort.

Colo. Willm. Fitzhugh[1] of Maryland, and a Mr. Clare came here to Dinner; as did Nelly[2] and Washn. Custis.

Friday, 8*th*. The ground being too wet to stir where it had been plowed or worked, I was unable to touch that which I had been preparing for grass; and therefore began to hoe that wch. lyes between the New circular ditches, and the Wild Rose hedges; on which I propose to make experiments of the quantity of the Plaister of Paris, which is most proper to manure an acre of Land, and to sow the same in grass seed.

Colo. Fitzhugh and Mr. Clair went away after breakfast. I rid to the Sein Landing at the Ferry.

Scattered 2½ bushels of the powdered plaister of Paris on little more than half of the circle in my Court yard — next the Servants Hall, (on the poor part of the ground), the Mould having been taken off that, to raise the other side, which was the lowest.

[1] Colonel William Fitzhugh (1721–98), son of George Fitzhugh, of Stafford County, Virginia. His first wife was Martha, daughter of Richard Lee; his second was Anne, daughter of Peregrine Frisby, who was the widow of John Rousby, of 'Rousby Hall,' Calvert County, Maryland. Fitzhugh served under Admiral Vernon on the Cartagena expedition. He was a member of the Maryland Council, 1769–74.

[2] Eleanor Parke Custis.

Saturday, 9th. Laid of a piece of my Wheat field, containing 2A. 3R. 22P. at Muddy hole, and part of the adjoining field, containing 4A. 6R. 8P. for Grass Seeds. The first I propose to sow Orchard grass seed on, and to roll it in. The other, having been spread pretty thick with Dung from the Farm yard, I set the Plows to breaking it up and to prepare it for the reception of the Seed.

From hence I rid to my Dogue Run Plantation and thence to the fishing Landing at the Ferry.

Mr. Geo. Lewis, his Wife and Sister (Mrs. Carter) went up to Abingdon to see their Brother Mr. John Lewis and returned in the Evening. The two Miss Hansons crossed the river in order to return, but their carriage not having arrived, came back again.

Continued Hooeing the grd. between my Circles by the outer gate, as noted on friday.

Sunday, 10th. Just as we had dined the two Doctr. Jenifers and Mr. Willm. Craik came in. The eldest of the Jenifers after getting his Dinner went away to visit Mr. Wagener.

Monday, 11th. As the ground had dryed a good deal, I set the plows (tho' it was not in such order as I could wish) to work in the field they were driven from by the Rain on Thursday last — and the Hooes also in the piece adjoining.

Rid to Muddy hole and Neck Plantations.

After breakfast Mr. Carter, Wife and child, Mr. Lewis and his Wife, Mr. Craik and the youngest Doctr. Jenifer went away. Soon after which a Mr. Duchi a french Gentleman recommended by the Marquis de la Fayette to me, came in.

Tuesday, 12th. Plowing, rolling, and Harrowing my ground for grass seeds.

Sowed on the inner side of the Post and Rail fences running from the Kitchen to the South Haw ha! and from the Servts. Hall to the North Haw ha! Three rows of Holly berries 6 Inches apart, the middle one of the berries wch. were preserved in Shavings, the first row is 9 Inches from the outer edge of the Posts.

Mr. Duchi went away after breakfast.

Wednesday, 13*th*. Received from Colo. Henry Lee of Westmoreland, 12 Horse Chesnut Trees (small) and an equal number of cuttings of the Tree Box. They appeared to have been some time out of the ground being very dry; planted 4 of the Chesnuts in my Serpentine Walks, and 4 of the Box in my Shrubberies — two on each side; the rest in the vineyard.

Sowed the Guinea grass seed sent me by —— in the ground I had been preparing in the Hop inclosure — 4 Rows and a piece next the fence. At the beginning and end of each Row drove in a peg. Rows 18 Inches apart.

Planted and sowed in boxes placed in front of the Green House the following things: Box No. 1, partition No. 1, Six buck eye nuts, brought with me from the Mouth of Cheat river;[1] they were much dried and shrivelled, but had been steeped 24 hours in Water, Same Box, par[titio]n No. 2. Six acorns, which I brought with me from the South Branch. These grew on a tree resembling the box Oak, but the cup which contained the Acorn almost inclosed it, and was covered with a soft bur. Same Box, partition No. 3. Eight Nuts from a tree called the Kentucke Coffee tree; these had been steeped 48 hours. Box No. 2, part[itio]n No. 1. Ten acorns sent me by Colo. Josiah Parker with the

[1] The Cheat River runs in a northerly direction through what is now Tucker and Preston Counties, West Virginia; crosses the northeast corner of Monongalia County and enters the Monongahela just north of the Pennsylvania line.

first live Oak Trees; and which I take to be the Acorn of that Tree. Same box, Part[itio]n No. 2. Six Acorns from the same Gentleman wch. came in a Paper accompanying the second parcel of Trees, and a small Keg of Acorns and which I also suppose to be those of the live Oak. Box No. 6. A scarlet triangular berry the cover of which opens in 3 parts and looks well upon the Shrub. Box 7. Berry of a Shrub, brot. from the Western Waters with me. Box 8, a seed brot. from the same place. Box 9. Seed of a cluster of Red Berrys which looks pretty, and if I recollect right grows on a vine.

Rid to Muddy hole Plantation and the fishing Landing at the Ferry between breakfast and Dinner.

Thursday, 14*th*. Sowed the ground at Muddy hole, which had been twice plowed, once harrowed, and gone over with the Hoes to break the clods.

Began to sow the field at the House but my Seedsman (Dolls Will) by sowing it much thicker than I intended, put 60 pints, or pounds of Clover Seed on abt. [ ] Acres of Ground, leaving a space of about 6 feet. I sowed half a bushel of orchard grass seed and five pints (or lbs.) of clover, mixed, in a breadth through the Field.

On the ground at Muddy hole I sowed 40 lbs. of clover seed. It was in tolerable good tilth considering the season, but ought to have been in better. The field at the House had been three times Plowed, twice Rolled, and twice harrowed; upon the last of which the Seed was sowed and was in better order than I ever expected to get it, from the unfavorable weather which we have had during the Winter and Spring.

Sowed 5 Rows and a small piece of the bird grass seed (sent me by Mr. Sprig[1] of Annapolis) by the side of the

[1] Thomas or Benjamin (?) Sprigg. Definite identification is not possible. The Sprigg family was prominent during the Revolutionary period.

Guinea grass, leaving 3 feet between the kinds; and the rows 18 Inches apart, as in the other.

At the end of the piece of a Row of the Guinea grass and to the next stake I planted the everlasting Pea — one at every Six inches, and by the side of the bird grass, but 3 feet from it, are planted two rows and a piece of the Acorn of the live Oak, 6 Inches apart in the rows and the rows 18 Inches asunder. The piece of a row I planted with the Spanish Nut.

Rid to Muddy hole Plantation with Miss Bassett.

Friday, 15th. Rid to my Muddy hole Plantation and thence to the Fishing Landing at the Ferry.

Sowed the 2 A. 3 R. 22P. which I had laid of (on Saturday last) in my Wheat field at Muddy hole, with 3 Bushels of Orchard grass Seed, and 6 bushels of the Plaister of Paris in powder, which I ordered to be rolled in.

Harrowed with a bush, the clover Seed which was sowed at that place yesterday, and ordered it to be rolled also.

Leaving a space of Six feet between the breadth which was sowed yesterday with Clover and Orchard grass, I sowed 4½ Pecks of the Orchard grass Seed unmixed; and had the whole, of both days sowing, harrowed with a brush harrow.

Next the Planting of the acorns of the live Oak, I planted (two feet from them, and six Inches apart in the Row) a row of the Shell bark hickory Nutt from New York.

Mr. Delasier and Mr. Dulany, Doctr. Craik, his Wife and three Daughters, came here to Dinner. The two first went away after it, and in the Evening Colo. Allison [1] and Miss Harrison (Daughter of Judge Harrison [2]) came here.

[1] John Allison.

[2] Robert Hanson Harrison. He had been an aide to Washington during the Revolution.

This day was very unfavorable for Sowing my Seeds, but the advanced Season, and fear of Rain, which might retard the operation, I did not incline to Postpone it; but to render the disadvantage as small as possible, instead of sowing up and down the Lands I sowed all one way.

Saturday, 16*th*. A great Hoar frost and Ice at least the ⅛ of an Inch thick. What injury this may have done to the fruit, and vegetation, will soon be seen. The Buds of every kind of tree and shrub are swelling, the tender leaves of many had unfolded, the Apricot blossoms were putting forth, the Peaches and Cherries were upon the point of doing the same. The leaves of the Apple tree were coming out, those of the Weeping Willow and Lilac had been out many days, and were the first to show themselves. The Sasafras was *ready* to open, the Red bud had begun, but not to make any show. The Dogwood had swelled into buttons. The Service tree was showing its leaf, and the Maple had been full in bloom ten days or a fortnight. Of this tree, I observed great difference in the colour of the blossoms; some being of a deep scarlet, bordering upon crimson, others of a pale red, approaching yellow.

Rid to Muddy hole and discovered that the Wheat ground which had been sowed with Orchard grass seed had received *little* or *no* benefit from the Rolling it had obtained, being two hard and dry, and too much baked for the roller to make a proper impression, the Corn hills yielded but little to its weight, and the interstices scarcely being touched. It is to be feared therefore that the Seed (especially if rain shd. not come soon) will be all lost. The Clover field seems to be well broke by the Roller at the place.

Sowed one Bushel and three Pecks of the Albany, or field Pea in the inclosure behind the Garden, called the

Vineyard. This ground had been Hooed in the Winter, lately plowed, cross plowed and Harrowed, and the Pease harrowed in.

Cross harrowed with a bush the field of Grass which had been sowed the two preceding days at the Home House, and began to Roll it abt. 2 Oclock for the third time.

Planted some Filberts given me by my Sister Lewis,[1] in the row in which the Everlasting Pea was planted on Thursday; and stuck a stake where they finished. These were planted Six Inches apart in the row.

After Breakfast Doctr. Craik went up to Alexandria and returned in the Afternoon. Mrs. Charles Stuart,[2] Nelly Stuart and Betsey Custis came to Dinner and stayed all Night. After Dinner Colo. Allison and Miss Harrison returned to Alexa.

Sunday, 17*th*. Doctr. Craik and his family went to Colo. McCarty's after Breakfast, and to Dinner came Mr. Chas. Steward[3] and Mr. George Digges, Doctr. Walter Jenifer and his wife, Mr. Wilson,[4] Mr. Hunter[5] and a Mr. Lymebarie.[6]

All of whom, with the two Mrs. Stuarts and Betcy Custis went away after dinner. Fanny Bassett went up with Mrs. Doctr. Stuart.[7]

Monday, 18*th*. Rid to Alexandria to the Election of Delegates for this County and dined at Colo. Fitzgerald's. Colo. Syms and Doctr. Steuart[8] were chosen, and for whom I gave my suffrages.

Had the Roots, shrubs (which had been grubbed) and

[1] Betty Lewis, wife of Fielding Lewis.
[2] Sister-in-law to Dr. David Stuart (?) [3] Charles Stewart (?) of Maryland.
[4] Of Alexandria. [5] William Hunter. [6] Symsbury (?)
[7] Mrs. Dr. David Stuart.
[8] Colonel Charles Simms, of Alexandria, and Dr. David Stuart.

tussics of broom Straw, in the point of New ground below the field I had been sowing, in clover and Orchard grass next the Hop inclosure raked of and burnt. I then sowed it up to stakes which run across the ground at a double Chesnut Tree, with Barley and Orchard grass Seed. On the East side I sprinkled two Bushels of the plaister of Paris (powdered) and harrowed it in along with the Barley, after which the grass Seed was sowed and harrowed with a Bush harrow. I intended to have sprinkled the same quantity of Plaister, on the West side, but Night coming on I could only get the Barley Sowed and harrowed in with the Iron harrow, and the Grass Seed with the Bush. The Plaister was postponed until the Morning. I intended this as an experiment (the ground being poor, and equal in quality); first, to try the effect of the Plaister, and next, whether spreading it on the surface, or burying it with the Seed was most efficatious. The slipe adjoining the Fence of the hop ground was also sowed in Barley and Orchard grass Seed this day. This had been well spread with stable and farm Yard Dung, upon the Hooeing it had received previous to the Plowings.

Tuesday, 19*th*. Took the advantage of the intermission, and sprinkled the 2 Bushels of Plaister which was left undone last Night.

Wednesday, 20*th*. No working of ground, but sent my Roller to Muddy hole to Roll the Orchard grass Seed wch. had been sowed on the 2 A. 3 R. 22 P. of Wheat, friday last, and which from the hardness of the Earth received no benefit from the former rolling.

Thursday, 21*st*. My Seedsman (foolishly) renewed his Sowing of the Barley this Morning; the ground being too wet to plough or harrow it, he sowed all the seed he had,

and left 5 or 6 rod unfinished for want of seed, did not sow grass seed, nor attempt to harrow the Barley in.

Rid to the Fishing Landing. No fish caught. Thence through the ferry Wheat field, to Muddy hole. Found the Rolling had passed once over the grass seed. Ordered it over a second time, crosswise.

Found what is called the Spice bush (a fragrant aromatic shrub) in bloom. Perceived this to be the case on Monday also as I returned from Alexandria, and supposed it had been blown 2 or 3 days. It is a small greenish flower, growing round the twigs and branches, and will look well in a shrubbery. The Sassafras not yet full out, nor the Redbud — Dogwood blossom still inclosed in the button.

After an early dinner I went up in my Barge to Abingdon, in order to bring Mr. John Lewis (who had lain there sick for more than two months) down. Took my Instruments, with intent to Survey the Land I hold by purchase on 4 Mile Run of Geo. and Jas. Mercer, Esqrs.

Called at Alexandria and staid an hour or two.

Friday, 22*d*. Took an early breakfast at Abingdon; and accompanied by Doctr. Stewart [1] and Lund Washington, and having sent for Mr. Moses Ball (who attended), I went to a Corner of the above Land, within about 3 poles of the Run (4 Miles Run) a white Oak, 18 Inches in diameter, on the side of a hill, abt. 150 yards below the Ruins of an old Mill and 100 below a small Branch which comes in on the No. Et. side. And after having run one course and part of another, my Servant William (one of the Chain Carriers) fell, and broke the pan of his knee, wch. put a stop to my Surveying; and with much difficulty I was able to get him to Abingdon, being obliged to get a sled to carry him on, as he could neither Walk, stand, or

[1] Stuart?

ride. At Mr. Adam's Mill [1] I took Lund Washington's horse and came home.

After my return I had the grd. which was sowed yesterday Morning with Barley harrowed. Perceived the Service tree to be full in bloom. It bears a white flour in clusters but on single stems, and is a tolerable handsome tree in bloom.

Sowed the remainder of the circle which (on acct. of wet) was left unfinished on the Seventh instant, put both kind of the Holly Berries together, mixing them well.

Saturday, 23*d*. Sowed all the Orchard grass seed I had remaining of my first stock, on part of the ground which was sowed on Thursday with Barley. Rolled it. Sent to Alexandria for another parcel which had just arrived for me from Philadelphia, and brought it home, Bushels.

Sowed three Rows of the Holly Berries next the row of Shell bark Hickory Nutt; leaving 2 feet Space between the Nutts and the Berries, and 18 Inches between the rows of Berries, sticking a stake down at both ends of each row.

Rid to the Fishing Landing at the Ferry, and all over my Wheat field there. Found the Wheat in general good, in places greatly destroyed by the Winters frost, but some of it, by fibres wch. had retained a little footing in the ground, beginning to vegetate freely. Whether it can recover so much as to produce Wheat remains to be tried. From hence rid to my Plantation on Dogue Run, and examined that Wheat, and perceived that it had sustained greater injury than that at the Ferry had done, being in places *entirely* destroyed and the ground generally, not so well covered.

No appearance of any of the Clover, or Orchard grass seed, of the first sowing (now the 9th day) coming up,

[1] Robert Adam.

which affords cause to apprehend defect in them — especially the first.

the Sassafras buds had perfectly displayed, but the numerous flowers within had not opened. The Dogwood buttons were just beginning to open as the Redwood (or bud) blossom, for though they had appeared several days the blossoms had not expanded. The Peach Trees were now full in bloom, and the apples, Pears, and Cherries pretty full of young leaf.

Mr. John Lewis and his Brother Lawrence came down from Abingdon in my Barge before Dinner.

Sunday, 24*th*. Upon a close examination I perceived the clover seed was coming up, but could discover no appearance of the Orchard, Guinea, or Bird grass Seed rising.

An Express arrived with the acct. of the Deaths of Mrs. Dandridge and Mr. B. Dandridge,[1] the Mother and Brother of Mrs. Washington.

Monday, 25*th*. Got the ground on the North side of the gate — between the outer ditch and the Sweet brier hedge in a proper state of preparation to receive grass Seed, and for making a compleat experimt. of the Plaister of Paris as a Manure. Accordingly, I divided it into equal sections; by a line from the Center of the old gate, between the New Garden Houses, stretched to the outer ditch at which they were 18½ feet apart and 16 apart at the outer edge of the Holly berries by the Sweet brier hedge. Each of these Sections contained 655 square feet. On the 1st., that is, the one next the road, I sprinkled 5 pints of the Plaister in powder; on the 2d., 4 pints; on the 3d, 3 pints; on the 4th, 2 pts.; on the 5th, one pint; and on the 6th, none. On the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 pints again;

[1] Bartholomew Dandridge, the father of Bartholomew Dandridge who, later, became Washington's secretary; and Mrs. Francis Dandridge.

and on the 12th, nothing; and on the 13th, 14th, 15, 16 and 17th, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, in the same manner as before. On these three grand divisions (as they may be called) I sowed Orchard Grass Seed. But before I did this, I harrowed the first grand division with a heavy Iron toothed harrow. The 2d. grand division was gone over with a Bush harrow (without the Iron harrow), and the third grand division was only rolled without either of the above harrowings. The whole of this ground was, in quality, as nearly alike as ground coud well be, and this experiment, if the grass seed comes up well, will show: first, what quantity is most proper for an acre (the above being, as nearly as may be, in the proportion of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 Bushels to the Acre); and secondly, whether burying the Powder of Paris deep (as a harrow will do it), shallow, or spreading it on the Surface only, is best.

Adjoining to this, on a piece of grass ground, as nearly alike in quality as may be, I staked off 5 square rod, side by side on the 1st., beginning at the fence, I sprinkled 2 gills of the powdered Stone; on the next 4 gills, on the 3d. 6 gills, on the 4th 8 gills, and on the 5th 10 gills — which as nearly as may be is (also) at the rate of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 Bushels to the Acre. On this piece of circular ground I sowed about 8 quarts of the Orchard grass Seed, which was nothing like so clean as the first parcel I received.

I also finished Sowing all the ground behind the Barn, and adjoining the Pine groves, with the Orchard grass Seed, which took about [ ] Pecks.

Tuesday, 26th. The ground on the South side of the Road (between the Ditches) being prepared I sprinkled the same quantity of Powdered Stone on it. Sowed the same quantity of Seed (Orchard Grass) on it, and managed it in all respects as I did that on the North side opposite yesterday, beginng. with the greatest quantity of powdered Stone

next the road, and decreasing it Southerly, as I did Northerly yesterday. The 2 circles took 1½ Bushels of the Stone.

The Barley and Pease were soon coming up, the first very generally, the latter just making its appearance.

Doctr. Stuart came here to Breakfast, and returned after Dinner. Doctr. Griffith [1] came to the latter, and stayed all Night.

The blossom of the red bud was just beginning to display; the Dogwood blossom tho' out make no figure yet, being small and not very white. The flower of the Sassafras was fully out and looked well. An intermixture of this and red bud I conceive would look very pretty — the latter crowned with the former or vice versa.

Wednesday, 27*th*. Marked out a new place for my front gate and serpentine Post and rail fences from it to the outer Ditch.

Sowed in drills, 18 Inches apart, and 3 feet from the Holly berries in the inclosure by the Hop Patch 10 Rows of the small berried thorn.

Rid to Muddy hole. Upon my return found General and Mrs. Moylan [2] here.

Thursday, 28*th*. To Dinner Mr. Pine,[3] a pretty eminent Portrait and Historical Painter, arrived in order to take my picture from the life and to place it in the Historical pieces he was about to draw. This Gentleman stands in

[1] The Reverend Dr. David Griffith.

[2] Brigadier-General Stephen Moylan, of Pennsylvania. He had been aide to Washington in the Revolution; muster master-general, colonel of Fourth Continental Dragoons, and a brevet brigadier at the close of the war. He died in 1811.

[3] Robert Edge Pine, an English artist, born in London in 1730, died in Philadelphia in 1788. He came to America in 1782, was befriended by Robert Morris and painted the portraits of several eminent men. This portrait of Washington, which is considered rather unsatisfactory, was engraved for Washington Irving's *Life of Washington*. He had in contemplation a series of historical pictures of the Revolutionary War.

good estimation as a Painter in England; comes recommended to me from Colo. Fairfax, Mr. Morris,[1] Govr. Dickenson,[2] Mr. Hopkinson[3] and others. Colo. Hooe, Mr. Hibert, and a Captn. [ ] also, came here to Dinner and returned after it.

Friday, 29*th*. Leaving General Moylan and Lady, and Mr. Pine at Mt. Vernon, I set off for the appointed meeting of the Dismal Swamp Company at Richmond. Dined at Dumfries,[4] and lodged at my Sister Lewis's (after visiting my Mother) in Fredericksburgh.

Saturday, 30*th*. Dined at General Spotswood's and lodged at Mr. Jno. Baylor's (New Market).

MAY

Sunday, *First*. Took a late breakfast at Hanover Ct. House. Went from thence to Mr. Peter Lyon's where I intended to dine, but neither he nor Mrs. Lyon being at home, I proceeded to, and arrived at Richmond about 5 Oclock in the afternn.

Supped and lodged at the Governor's.[5]

Monday, 2*d*. Received, and accepted an invitation to dine with the Sons of Saint Taminy,[6] at Mr. Anderson's Tavern, and accordingly did so, at 3 Oclock.

[1] Gouverneur Morris, of New York.

[2] John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania.

[3] Francis Hopkinson, of Pennsylvania.

[4] 'Apr. 29. By Ferriages at Ocaquan 3*s*. 4*d*. By Do. at Fredrickbg. 3*s*.' 'May. By Do at Hano Ct. House 15*s*.' (*Cash Account*.)

[5] Patrick Henry.

[6] Saint Tammany, from the Indian Chief Tamanund, had become something of a patron saint of America, and societies of the Sons of Saint Tammany were in existence in many of the Colonies prior to the Revolution. The oldest one of these seems to be the Philadelphia Society which was founded in 1772. The membership of these societies was usually composed of the best men in the community.

About Noon, having assembled a sufficient number of the Proprietors of the Swamp, we proceeded to business in the Senate Chamber; and continued thereon till dinner, when we adjourned till nine Oclock next day.

Tuesday, 3*d*. Met according to adjournment, and finished the business by 3 Oclock. Dined at the Governor's.

Wednesday, 4*th*. After doing a little business, and calling upon Judge Mercer[1] and the Attorney General, I left Richmond about 11 Oclock, Dined at one Winslow's, abt. 8 Miles from the City, and lodged at Clark's Tavern 10 Miles above Hanover Court House.

Thursday, 5*th*. Wind Southerly in the forenoon and clear, but Showery afterwards where I was between Fredericksburgh and Dumfries.

Breakfasted at the Bowling Green.[2] Dined with my Sister Lewis in Fredericksburgh, spent half an hour with my Mother, and lodged at Stafford Ct. House (at one Taylor's Tavern).

Friday, 6*th*. Breakfasted at Dumfries, and dined at home; where I found Mrs. Moylan (Genl. Moylan having gone on some business towards Fredericksburgh), Mr. Pine, Mr. Jno. Lewis, and his Brother Lawrence, all of whom I had left at Mt. Vernon, and where I found every body and thing well, except little Washington Custis who had two or three fits of the Ague and fever.

Saturday, 7*th*. Upon enquiry, found that William Skil-

[1] George Mercer.

[2] 'By Breakfast at Bowling Green 11*s* 5*d*. By Ferriages at Falmouth 3*s*. By Exps. at Taylor's Ordn. £1. 3*s* 3*d* By Servts. 1*s*. 9*d*. By Breakfast &c at Dumfs. 12*s*. By Toys 15*s*. A Pocket L. Glass 1*s*. 6*d*. By Ferriages at Colchester 4*s*.' (*Cash Account.*)

ling, a hired Man had done no work, in my absence; nor since the 21st Ulto; occasioned by a fever, and violent cough, wch. there is reason to apprehend may prove fatal to him.

Most of my transplanted trees have a sickly look. The small Pines in the Wildernesses are entirely dead. The larger ones in the Walks, for the most part, appear to be alive (as yet), almost the whole of the Holly are dead. Many of the Ivy, wch. before looked healthy and well seem to be declining; few of the Crab trees had put forth leaves. Not a single ash tree has unfolded its buds; whether owing to the trees' decline, or any other cause, I know not. As those in their native places are all in leaf (tho' late putting out), and *some* of all the other kinds have displayed their leaves, it is somewhat singular that not *one* of these should yet have discovered signs of life. The lime trees, which had some appearance of Budding when I went away, are now withering, and the Horse Chesnut and Tree box from Colo. Harry Lee's discover little signs of shooting. The Hemlock is almost dead, and bereft of their leaves; and so are the live Oak. In short, half the Trees in the Shrubberies, and many in the Walks, are dead and declining.

The Barley and Pease seem to have come on well, but the clover has not advanced much. The first sowed Orchard grass seeds are making their appearance, but none of the Second are yet to be seen; Nor can I discover anything yet of the Guinea, or bird grass seeds coming up; or any of the Acorns or Nutts which were planted by the side of them any more than I can of those things which were put in boxes. The Seeds of the Crab apple are up, and the Woodbine (or Honey Suckle) which I cut and set out, appears to be about half alive.

I cannot discover that the grass ground on which the Powdered plaister of Paris was strewed, in different quan-

tities is benefitted in the smallest degree by it, nor the circle in the court yard.

Monday, 9*th*. Rid to my Muddy hole and Dogue Run Plantations, and from the latter to the fishing landing at the Ferry.

Perceived the Orchard grass Seeds which had been sown on the Wheat at Muddy hole were coming up tolerably well, but could not discover that the Wheat had derived any benefit from the Plaister of Paris which had been sprinkled thereon, or from the rolling.

Mathew Baldridge who had been engaged for me by Mr. John Rumney, as a Joiner, and sent over in his Brig. the *Caesar*, Captn. Atkinson, and who arrived here yesterday, set in to work to day.

The blossom of the Crab tree is unfolding, and shedding its fragrant perfume. That of the black Haw had been out some days; and is an ornamental flower being in large clusters, tho' individually small upon single foot stems. They are white with a yellowish cast. The flower of the small berry thorn is also good looking, the tree being full of blossom, which is not much unlike the blossom of the apple tree, but quite white.

Tuesday, 10*th*. Quitted fishing at the ferry landing, as I had done at the House landing, on Saturday last. Began to weed a yard for Brick making at home.

Rid into the Neck. Found my Wheat there tolerably promising.

General Moylan returned before dinner. Doctr. Jenifer and his Wife came here to dinner and stayed all Night, and a Mr. Stephens from the Red stone Settlement came in the afternoon and remained all Night.

Thursday, 12*th*. Added some more Filbert to those

planted on the 16th of last Month in the 5th row of the Guinea grass Seeds, below the Everlasting Pease, and at the end of these and below the 3rd Stake, I planted some Cobb nuts (given me by my Sister Lewis), at the distance of Six Inches apart.

Yesterday (tho' it escaped Notice at the time) I sowed in drills (three) on the South side the gate, adjoining the orchard grass seeds and upon the bank of the old ditch which I had levelled, a few seeds of a grass given me by Colo. Archibald Cary, who had it from Colo. Wm. Peachy who speaks of it in high terms.

Friday, 13*th*. Began to set my turned Posts in the Circle in the Ct. yard.

The Guilder Roses in my Garden had just got into bloom, but as the Trees had been transplanted this Spring I presume they were backened by it, for I observed some in the Gardens at Fredericksburgh (but these were in a Sandy Soil) as forward eight days ago as mine are now.

Saturday, 14*th*. Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue Run, and Muddy hole. Found the Wheat had grown a good deal since the last rain and warm weather.

The Wood honey suckle wch. has been in bloom about 8 days is an agreeable looking flower and deserved a place in my Shrubberies.

My Nephew George Augustine Washington arrived here from Charles Town after [having] been to Bermuda and the West Indies in pursuit of health, which he had but imperfectly recovered.

Sunday, 15*th*. General Cadwallader[1] came here yesterday.

[1] Brigadier-General John Cadwalader, of Pennsylvania. After the Revolution he removed to Alexandria, Virginia.

To day Colo. Fitzgerald, Mr. Murray, Mr. Porter,[1] Mr. Murser,[2] Mr. Darby, and the Revd. Mr. Prince came here to dinner, and went away after it.

In the afternoon Doctr. Stuart, Mrs. Stuart and Miss Stuart came and stayed all Night.

Monday, 16*th*. General Moylan, Mrs. Moylan, Doctr. Stuart, Wife and Sister, went away after Breakfast.

Mr. Mazzai[3] came here to breakfast and went away afterwds.

Tuesday, 17*th*. General Cadwallader went away after Breakfast, and I went to Alexandria to the appointed meeting of the Subscribers to the Potomack Navigation. Upon comparing, and examining the Books of the different Managers, it was found, including the Subscriptions in behalf of the two States, and the 50 Shares which the Assembly of Virginia had directed to be Subscribed for me (and which I then declared I would only hold in trust for the State[4]), that their were 403 Shares subscribed, which being more than sufficient to constitute the Company under the Act, the Subscribers proceeded to the choice of a President and 4 Directors; the first of which fell upon me, the votes

[1] Charles Porter (?), of Orange County.

[2] Mercer, or Munsen (?).

[3] Philip Mazzei (1730–1816), an Italian Physician, practiced in Smyrna; engaged in commerce in London; came to America in 1773 to endeavor to introduce the grape and other Italian fruit. He was active in the Revolutionary War; was a friend of Thomas Jefferson and Virginia agent in Italy.

[4] The Virginia Assembly had voted in January, 1785, to present Washington with shares in the Potomac and James River Navigation Companies. This embarrassed Washington, and, after obtaining advice from his friends, he agreed to hold them, as here stated, in trust for the public benefit. The Legislature accepted this arrangement, and the two blocks of stock were disposed of by Washington's last will and testament for educational purposes. The Potomac Companies shares he devised to a national university, to be established in the District of Columbia. (These shares depreciated and became worthless.) The James River shares were bequeathed to Liberty Hall Academy, Rockbridge County, Virginia, which afterwards became Washington and Lee University.

for the other four fell upon Governors Johnson [1] and Lee [2] of Maryland, and Colonels Fitzgerald [3] and Gilpin [4] of this State.

Dined at Lomax's [5] and returned in the afternoon.

Wednesday, 18*th*. Finished Planting Corn at Muddy hole.

Rid to Alexandria to enter myself security for Doctr. Stuart's administration of Mr. Custis's Estate. At the same time exchanged Deeds in Court with Mr. Willm. Triplett for the Lands we swapped.

The Locust blossom is beginning to display.

Thursday, 19*th*. Mr. Pine left this (on his return to Philadelphia) in my Phaeton, which was to carry him to Annapolis.

Sent my Overseer and Barge to Pope's Creek [6] for the Baggage of Geo. Auge. Washington, and such articles as he had brot. from the West Indies and South Carolina for my use; as also some Wild Geese which Mr. Wm. Washington [7] had procured for me.

Friday, 20*th*. Rid to my mill, and to Morris's.

Planted in boxes No. 10 and 11 in the garden, adjoining to the other boxes, 48 seeds of the Mahogany tree brot. by Mr. G. A. Washington from the West Indies.

A Mr. Noah Webster [8] came here in the Afternoon and

[1] Thomas Johnson. [2] Thomas Sim Lee. [3] John Fitzgerald.
[4] George Gilpin. [5] Alexandria. [6] Maryland.

[7] William Washington, son of Bailey Washington. He was lieutenant-colonel of the Third Continental Dragoons during the Revolution and one of the most dashing cavalry leaders. Congress voted him a medal for his conduct at the battle of Cowpens. After the war he married and settled in Charleston, South Carolina. Washington's letter to his kinsman, dated June 30, 1785, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, and thanks the Colonel for seeds, acorns, and nuts sent him, as well as for his kindness to George Augustine Washington.

[8] Noah Webster (1758–1843), the first and perhaps the greatest American lexicographer.

stayed all Night. As did one Richd. Boulton, a House joiner and undertaker, recommended to me by Colo. Wm. Fitzhugh of Maryld.

Upon enquiring, found that my Overseer at the ferry had begun to plant Corn on the 12th; and Morris, at Dogue run on the 18th.

Saturday, 21*st*. My Phaeton which had been with Mr. Pine to Annapolis returned about 3 Oclock to day; as did my Barge which had been sent to Pope's Creek on Thursday last. The latter brought the Plants of the large Magnolia of South Carolina; Some scions of the live oak, and a few young Trees of the Civil or sower Oranges in a box, all of which seem to be in a thriving state; as also sundry kinds of seed which Mr. G. Washington had provided for me in his travels, and the Palmeto Royal which Mr. Blake[1] of So. Carolina had sent me accompanied by some of the Plants.

Agreed with one Richd. Boulton, a House joiner and undertaker, to do my New Room, and other work, who is to be here in abt. 3 Weeks with his Tools.

Mr. Webster went away after breakfast, and in the afternoon Captn. Kalender[2] came and stayed all Night.

Sunday, 22*d*. In the afternoon Doctr. Stuart and Mrs. Stuart arrived here.

Monday, 23*d*. Set out the Palmeto Royal in my garden — in number [ ] Plants — and put the box in which the Magnolia, live Oak and sower Oranges were in the Area in front of the Green House.

Doctr. Stuart went away after Dinner. Mrs. Stuart and the Girls remained.

[1] William Blake, of Charleston, South Carolina.

[2] Captain Thomas Callender, of the First South Carolina Regiment, during the Revolution.

Tuesday, 24*th*. Bought 15,114 feet of Inch Pine Plank a 10/. pr. Ct.

Laid a Margin of grass between the pavement, and the Post and rail fence from the Servants Hall to the cross fence.

Doctr. Brown came here on a visit to Richmond (a boy) who had hurt his Shoulder. Dined and returned afterwards.

Wednesday, 25*th*. The blossom of the transplanted fringe tree was beginning to display. The locust blossom full out.

Expected General Roberdeau [1] and some Methodist Clergymen to dinner, but they did not come. Had Peas for the [first?] time in the season at Dinner.

Thursday, 26*th*. Rid to Muddy hole and the Neck Plantations. Upon my return found Mr. Magowan, and a Doctr. Coke [2] and a Mr. Asbury here the two last Methodist Preachers recommended by Genl. Roberdeau — the same who were expected yesterday.

Mrs. Stuart and Betcy and Patcy Custis, accompanied by Fanny Basset, set out for Abingdon after Breakfast, and my Nephew G: Washington did the same for Richmond.

After Dinner Mr. Coke and Mr. Asbury went away.

Friday, 27*th*. Mr. Magowan went away after breakfast.

Sunday, 29*th*. The Honble. Mr. Sitgreave,[3] a delegate to

[1] Brigadier-General Daniel Roberdeau (1727–95), of Pennsylvania militia; he was at one time a delegate to the Continental Congress and after the War removed from Pennsylvania to Alexandria.

[2] The Reverend Dr. Thomas Coke and his coadjutor, Mr. Francis Asbury, who was, later, the first Methodist bishop in the United States. Asbury Park, New Jersey, is named after him. 'We waited on General Washington, who received us very politely, and gave us his opinion against slavery.' (*Asbury's Journal*, June 26, 1785.)

[3] John Sitgreaves, delegate to the Continental Congress, 1784–85, and, later, United States District Attorney for North Carolina.

Congress from the State of North Carolina, Mr. Tillotson and Mr. Edward Livingston[1] came to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Monday, 30*th*. The Gentlemen who came here to Dinner yesterday went away after Breakfast.

I went to Alexandria to meet the Directors of the Potomack Co. Dined at Colo. Fitzgerald's and returned in the Evening, after the Directors had agreed to meet at Mount Vernon tomorrow at 10 Oclock.

The flower of the Ivy is just getting pretty fully into Bloom and the trees which I transplanted from the Blind Pocoson and to which I could find no name were putting forth their blossoms — white in small clusters.

Tuesday, 31*st*. Govrs. Lee and Johnson, Colo. Fitzgerald and Colo. Gilpin, came here according to appointment. Fanny Bassett returned.

JUNE

Wednesday, 1*st*. Govrs. Johnson and Lee, and the other Gentlemen, with a Son of the first, went away after Breakfast.

In the afternoon Mr. Mathew Whiting, Mr. Wm. Booth, and a Doctr. Graham[2] [came] here and stayed all Night.

Friday, 3*d*. Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue Run and Muddy hole — Mr. Whiting, Mr. Booth, and Doctr. Graham having first set out for Maryland immediately after breakfast.

[1] Edward Livingston (1764–1836), then a young man of twenty-one years; later he was a member of Congress, Mayor of New York, and Secretary of State of the United States.

[2] Dr. William Graham, of Prince William County, Virginia.

Saturday, 4*th*. In the afternoon the celebrated Mrs. Macauly Graham [1] and Mr. Graham her Husband, Colo. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Lux [2] of Baltimore arrived here.

Sunday, 5*th*. Opened the Well in my Cellar in which I had laid up a store of Ice, but there was not the smallest particle remaining. I then opened the other repository (called the dry well) in which I found a large store.

Colo. Fitzgerald went away after Breakfast.

My Nephew Geo. Auge. Washington returned in the afternoon.

Monday, 6*th*. Mr. Herbert (Willm.) came here to dinner and returned after it.

Mr. Lux rid to Alexandria after Breakfast.

Tuesday, 7*th*. Mr. Dulany, Mr. Saml. Hanson,[3] and Mr. Roberdeau [4] (son of Genl. Roberdeau) as also Doctr. Stuart came here to Dinner. The three first went away after it, the latter stayed all Night. Mr. Lux returned in the evening.

Wednesday, 8*th*. Placed my Military records [5] in to the

[1] Catharine Macaulay Graham's first husband had been Dr. George Macaulay; her second was William Graham. Her best-known work was the *History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*, in eight volumes (1763–83).

'I have just parted with Mr. and Mrs. Macauley Graham, who after a stay of about ten days, left this in order to embark for England, from New York; I am obliged to you for introducing a Lady to me whose reputation among the literati is so high, and whose principles are so much and so justly admired by the friends of liberty and mankind — it gave me pleasure to find that her sentiments respecting the inadequacy of the powers of Congress, as also those of Dr. Price's coincide with my own.' (*Washington to Richard Henry Lee*, June 22, 1785.)

[2] George Lux.

[3] Samuel Hanson, Alexandria merchant.

[4] Isaac Roberdeau, of Alexandria.

[5] At the close of the war, Washington had all his papers packed and shipped, under care of the commandant of his guard, to Mount Vernon. There they re-

Hands of Mrs. Macauly Graham for her perusal and amusemt. (These indeed were placed there yesterday.)

Doctr. Stuart returned home after Breakfast.

Thursday, 9*th.* Captn. Brooke dined here. I rid to my Mill, and to the Dogue run and Muddy hole plantations.

Friday, 10*th.* In the Afternoon Mr. Whiting, Doctr. Graham, and a Mr. Wyat came here.

In the Morning Mr. Lux set out on his return home.

Saturday, 11*th.* After Breakfast Mr. Whiting, Doctr. Graham, and Mr. Wyatt went away, and my Brother Charles Washington, Colo. Robt. H. Harrison of Maryland, and Mr. Ballendine and his Sister Fanny came to Dinner.

In the Evening Colo. Jno. Mercer, his Wife, and Miss Sprig came — all of whom stayed the Night.

Sunday, 12*th.* Captn. Conway[1] and his Wife, Colo. Hooe and De Neufville,[2] Colo. Henley, Mr. Sanderson and Mr. George Digges dined here — all of whom went away [after] dinner except Mr. Digges.

Whilst we were at dinner a Mr. Aldge and a Mr. Patterson came in, recommended by Genl. Greene and Mr. Benjn. Harrison, junr.

Mr. Ballendine left this in the forenoon.

Monday, 13*th.* Colo. Mercer, Lady and Sister went away after breakfast. My Brother, Mr. John Lewis and G. A.

mained, except for the time that they were carried to Cambridge by Jared Sparks, until they passed into the hands of the United States Government. They are now preserved in the Library of Congress.

[1] Captain Richard Conway, a sea captain?

[2] John De Neufville, Jr., of Amsterdam, son of John De Neufville, who was the Commercial Agent of the United States in Holland during the Revolution. The firm of John De Neufville & Sons fitted out John Paul Jones's squadron.

Washington dined at Mr. Lund Washington's and returned in the Evening.

Sowed the following Nuts and Seeds, in the inclosure I had prepared for a Nursery, viz.

In the first Section, beginning by the Walk next the Ho. I built for a hospital (since used for Spinning), the first row contains 17 Nuts of the Sand Box tree. Next to these are 2 Rows containing 85 of the Palmetto Nut, or acorn. Next 2 rows 87 Physic Nut; Next 3 rows of the Seed of the Pride of China; next 9 rows containing 635 Acorns of the live oak (wch. seemed bad); Next (which compleated the section) 3 Rows of a species of the Acacia (or Acasee), used in the West Indias for incircling their Gardens.

In the next section to this, (immediately back of the Salt House); the first row, and parallel thereto, is the same as the last — that is Acacia. The next is the flower fence, also used as an inclosure to Gardens. Next to this are two rows of the Bird pepper; then one row of the Cayan pepper; Then 2 rows of the seed of the Privy; the Remainder of this Section was compleated with Guinea Grass, which, as all the others, were planted and sowed in Drills 12 Inches apart.

Colo. Harrison left this by Sunrise to day.

Tuesday, 14*th*. About 7 Oclock Mr. Graham and Mrs. Macauly Graham left this on their return to New York. I accompanied them to Mr. Digges's, to which place I had her Carriage and horses put over. Mr. Digges escorted her to Bladensburgh.

Sowed on each side of the Great Gate in front of the Ho. (between the Serpentine Railing and the Orchard grass plats and Ditches) Seeds of the Palmetto Royal in Drills 15 Inches apart.

Wednesday, 15*th*. Mr. John Lewis after a stay of almost

8 Weeks took his departure, very well recovered. My brother Charles also left this on his return home.

Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole, Ferry, and Dogue Run, also to the Mill.

Mr. Bushrod Washington came here before dinner.

Friday, 17*th.* Cut down the Weeds in the ground which had been sowed with clover and Orchard Grass seeds in the Inclosure adjoining Ha-Ha, as also those in the orchard Grass in the South Circle by the Gate, which had got high when the ground was strong, and was about to Seed.

The Catalpa Trees were pretty generally displaying their Blossoms; and Chesnut also.

Mr. Geo. A. Washington went up to Alexandria to Dinner and returned in the Afternoon.

Saturday, 18*th.* In the Afternoon my Brother John came hither from Alexandria, having gone to that place by Water.

Sunday, 19*th.* Mr. Montgomery[1] came here to dinner and went away afterwards.

Monday, 20*th.* My Brother John went up to Alexandria after an early Breakfast.

Began to pull the Seeds of the Bleu, or English grass, and cut the top from the Walnut tree wch. I transplanted in the Spring, as it seemed to be declining; the leaves which had put out falling off by degrees.

The Weather being hot and dry I commenced the Watering of the Guinea grass seeds wch. were sowed on the 13th Instt., and perceiving the Physic Nut and the Seeds of the Flower fence and Acacia to be coming up, I watered them also.

[1] Thomas Montgomerie, of Dumfries.

Tuesday, 21*st*. Mr. Ballendine came here abt. 5 Oclock in the afternoon, and my Brother returned from Alexandria abt. 8 Oclock.

Wednesday, 22*d*. After Breakfast Mr. and Miss Ballendine and Mr. Bushrod Washington went away, and just as we had dinner Colo. Bassett and his two Sons, Burwell and John, arrived.

The little rain which fell prevented my continuing to pull the seeds of the bleu or English grass, altho there was not a sufficiency to wet the Earth.

Thursday, 23*d*. A Mr. Brisco,[1] introduced by a letter from Colo. R. H. Harrison, came here to offer himself to me as a Secretary.

Cut the grass in my Court yard, and began to do the like in the River front of the House.

Mr. Brisco after dining went away. I took 8 or 10 days to give him a definitive answer in. My Brother Jno. returned home.

Friday, 24*th*. Finished cutting all the grass within the inclosures on both sides the House.

Saturday, 25*th*. Making, with the jobbers about the House, the Hay which had been cut the preceeding days, got it into Shocks.

My Nephew, George Steptoe Washington, came here in the afternoon.

Sunday, 26*th*. Major Edwards and a Mr. Philips came here before Dinner. Mr. Charles Lee also came to Dinner — the whole stayed all Night.

Monday, 27*th*. Mr. Lee went away before Breakfast.

[1] William Briscoe. Washington did not engage him.

Tuesday, 28*th*. Finished my Hay at and about the House and got it into large cocks or small Stacks on the grd. where cut. Doctr. Stuart, Mr. Booth, and a Mr. Hawkins [1] came here to dinner, the first of whom went away after it. In the afternoon my Brother Charles came.

Wednesday, 29*th*. Messrs. Philips and Edwards and Mr. Booth and Mr. Hawkins left this after Breakfast. Colo. Bassett and his two Sons; Fanny Bassett, and Nelly and Washington Custis, followed soon after for Abingdon.

Mr. George Lee and Doctr. Craik came here to breakfast and after Dinner returned.

Discovered the Cayan pepper which was sowed on the 13th to be coming up.

Thursday, 30*th*. My Brother Charles left this after breakfast, and G. Auge. Washington went up to Abingdon.

Rid to my Hay field at the Meadow, from thence to my Dogue Run, and Muddy hole Plantations, and dined with only Mrs. Washington, which I believe is the first instance of it since my retirement from public life.

JULY

[*Friday*], 1*st*. Went to Alexandria to a meeting of the Board of Directors, who by Advertisement were to attend this day for the purpose of agreeing with a Manager and two assistants to conduct the Undertaking of the Potomack Navigation; but no person applying with proper credentials the Board gave the applicants until Thursday the 14th to provide these and for others to offer.

Returned in the Evening, accompanied by Colo. Bassett and Colo. Spait,[2] a Member of Congress for the State of

[1] Thomas Hawkins.

[2] Richard Dobbs Spaight, delegate to the Continental Congress, and later a member of the United States Constitutional Convention.

No. Carolina. Fanny Bassett, her Brothers; G. Washington and Betcy and Washington Custis came down to Dinner.

Doctr. Stuart, Wife and Sister, and Patcy and Nelly Custis came here to Dinner, as did Mr. McCrae [1] and a Mr. Shaw,[2] whom Mr. Montgomerie recommended to me as a Clerk or Secretary. All of them stayed the Night.

Sunday, 3d. Mr. McCrae and Mr. Shaw left this after Breakfast and Doctr. Stewart, his Wife, Sister, and Betcy and Patcy Custis, after dinner. In the Evening Mrs. and Miss Blackburn came here.

Monday, 4th. Rid to my Ferry, Dogue run, and Neck Plantations, at all of which my Wheat Harvests had begun. That in the Neck had commenced on Thursday last.

Tuesday, 5th. After dinner Mr. Govournr. Morris [3] and Mr. Wm. Craik came in.

Wednesday, 6th. Mrs. Blackburn and her daughter went away before breakfast.

General Lincoln [4] and his Son; Mr. Porter, and a Doctr. Milne came to Dinner and returned afterwards.

Received from Genl. Lincoln 3 young trees of the Spruce Pine, and two of the Fir or Hemlock in half Barrels, which seemed to be healthy and vegetating.

[1] Allan McCrae.

[2] William Shaw. Washington employed him on the strength of Mr. Montgomerie's recommendation although Shaw's figure for salary, £50 per annum, with board, lodging, and washing, was more than the General wished to pay.

[3] Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), of New York. A delegate to the Continental Congress; member of the United States Constitutional Convention and Minister to France. A strong friendship existed between Washington and Morris.

[4] Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts (1733–1810). He was Secretary of War under the Continental Congress, and commanded at Savannah, Georgia, when the British forced the surrender. At Yorktown, Washington designated Lincoln to receive the surrender of the British.

Also received from Doctr. Craik by his Son a parcel of Chinese Seeds, similar to those presented to me by Mr. Porter on the 2d. Inst.

Thursday, 7th. Rid to my Harvest fields at the Ferry, Dogue Run, and the Neck, between Breakfast and Dinner.

Mr. Govournr. Morris went away before Breakfast, as did Mr. Craik. Colo. Bassett and Mr. Geo. Washington [1] accompanied the former as far as Alexandria. Mr. Arthur Lee came to Dinner, to which Colo. Bassett and G. W. returned.

In the afternoon a Mr. Turner, Steward to Colo. Richd. Corbin, came here with a letter from Mr. Thos. Corbin [2] enclosing one from Colo. Geo. Fairfax respecting the said Thomas.

Friday, 8th. Colo. Bassett and Mr. Arth. Lee went away after Breakfast and Mr. Turner before it. Mr. Burwell and Mr. John Bassett dined at Mr. Lund Washington's and returned in the Evening.

Perceived the Guinea grass seed to be coming up.

Sowed one half the Chinese Seed given me by Mr. Porter and Doctr. Craik in three rows in the section next the Quarter (in my Botanical garden), beginning in that part next the garden Wall, and on the end next the Middle Walk.

First Row

Between the 1st & 2d pegs, 1 Mucqua fa; betwn. the 2d & 3d Do., 1 Pungton leea fa;

3 & 4th	1 Ting litt fa	6 & 7	2 In che fa
4 & 5	1 Iso pung fa	7 & 8	Cum hung fa. 4 Seeds
5 & 6	1 Ci chou la fa	8 & 9	2 Hung co fa
		9 & 10	5 Be yack fa

[1] George Augustine Washington.

[2] Of London. Colonel George William Fairfax gave him a letter of introduction to Washington which he was unable to deliver in person on account of illness.

10 & 11	7 Hou sun fa	18 & 19	Pain ba fa
11 & 12	Sung sang fa yung	19 & 20	Cu si fa
12 & 13	Pu yung fa	20 & 21	Tu me fa
13 & 14	Mon Tan fa	21 & 22	All san fa
14 & 15	Cum Coak fa	22 & 23	Young san con fa
15 & 16	Pung ke Cuun	23 & 24	Hou Con fa
16 & 17	Cin yet cou	24 & 25	Hoak sing fa
17 & 18	Se me fa	25 & 26	I sit Ye muy fa

Second Row

1st & 2d	Tits swe fa	10 & 11	Ling si qui
2 & 3	An lee pung fa	11 & 12	Yuck soy hung seen fa
3 & 4	Se lou fa	12 & 13	Yuck sou cou fa
4 & 5	Lung Ci fa	13 & 14	Sing si qui fa
5 & 6	Tiahung seen fa	14 & 15	Bea an Cou
6 & 7	Lam Coax fa	15 & 16	Brey hung fa
7 & 8	Iny hung fa	16 & 17	Si fu he Tons
8 & 9	Jien pien cou fa	17 & 18	No name
9 & 10	Pung qui fa		

Third Row

1st & 2	Cum Seen fa
2 & 3	Top pu young
3 & 4	No name — like a 2d bla bead
4 & 5	Ditto — like but largr. than Cabbage Seed
5 & 6	Ditto — larger and redder than Clover Seed

N. B. The above are the Chinese names which were accompanied by characters or hierogliphics — a concise description of the Seeds are annexed to their names on the Paper that enrolls them.

Saturday, 9th. Burwell and John Bassett, and G. A. Washington set out after Breakfast for the Sweet Springs in Bottetourt County.

I rid to my Harvest fields at the Ferry and at Dogue run, and over my Cornfields at each of those places and at Muddy hole. Found the first not good, the 2d very indifferent, and the third — viz. at Muddy hole — as good as could be expected from the Land.

A Mr. Arnold Henry Dohrman,[1] a Gentleman of Lisbon

[1] Dohrman was a native of Holland who settled, as a merchant, in Lisbon and spent time and money in aiding American seamen made prisoners of war abroad.

recommended by Govr. Henry to me as a Man of fortune, and one who had been exceedingly attentive and kind to the American prisoners in captivity, came here, dined, and continued his journey afterwards to New York, with letters of Introduction from me to the Presidt. of Congress, and to Messrs. Wilson,[1] Grayson [2] and Chase,[3] Members of it, from me.

Sunday, 10*th*. At home all day alone.

Monday, 11*th*. Rid to my Harvest fields in the Neck, Dogue Run, and Ferry Plantn. Perceived the Sand box tree (the Nuts of which I sowed on the 13th of June) to be coming up.

Tuesday, 12*th*. Rid to my Wheat fields in the Neck, Dogue run and ferry Plantations. Found great damage done in the former by yesterday's Wind, and Rains having beat down and entangled the Straw, so as to render it difficult to cut and of consequence much left on the ground.

The Revd. Mr. Allison [4] and Miss Ramsay dined here and returned to Alexandria afterwards.

The Brick Wall; from the No. Garden House was begun on the 8th instt. tho' no minute was taken of it at the time.

Wednesday, 13*th*. Transplanted the Spruce and Fir (or Hemlock) from the Boxes in which they were sent to me by General Lincoln to the Walks by the Garden Gates. The spare one (spruce) I placed in my Nursery, or Botanical Garden.

Because of his activities he was made United States Agent at the Court of Lisbon in 1780. This visit to America was to seek reimbursement for his expenditures. He memorialized Congress, claiming losses amounting to over $20,000. Congress, later, settled his claim by allowing him $1600 per annum from the date his agency commenced until 1787.

[1] James Wilson, of Pennsylvania.
[2] William Grayson, of Virginia.
[3] Samuel Chase, of Maryland.
[4] The Reverend Bryan (?) Allison.

Thursday, 14*th*. Went through my Harvest field at Muddy hole to Alexandria, to a Meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Company. Agreed with Mr. James Rumsey to undertake the Management of our Works, and a Mr. Stuart [1] from Baltimore as an Assistant. Gave them directions, passed some accts., paid my quota of the demand for these purposes to Mr. Hartshorne, the Treasurer,[2] Made Mr. Dalby a visit, and came home in the evening.

Found Mr. Bryan Fairfax and his Son, Ferdinando, here at my return who had come down before dinner.

Friday, 15*th*. Observed the Seeds of the Palmetto Royal which I had sowed on each side of the Gate in Front of the House were coming up.

Mr. Fairfax and his Son Ferdinando left this after breakfast.

Saturday, 16*th*. Rid to my Wheat fields at Muddy hole and in the Neck; the first would be finished harvesting this day, the next one not till Monday. Finished cutting the Wheat at Dogue Run on Tuesday and at the ferry on Wednesday last.

Sunday, 17*th*. Fanny Bassett and Nelly Custis went to Church at Alexandria. Dined at Mr. Ramsay's and returned in the Evening.

Mr. Ridout and Son called here between breakfast and Dinner, but would not stay till the latter.

Monday, 18*th*. Finished my Wheat Harvest in the Neck; and began to cut Grass at Morris's.

[1] Richardson Stewart.

[2] July 14. 'By Mr. Hartshorne my Quota of Adva. for Poto. coy. vizt. £33 6*s*. 8*d*. By Do for Wm. Rumsay £6 13*s* 4*s* By Club at Lomax's 10*s* 6*d*.' (*Cash Account*.)

Tuesday, 19*th*. Rid to the Plantation in the Neck, to Muddy hole, and to Dogue Run, at the last of which they were cutting grass, and at the first just beging.

Wednesday, 20*th*. Rid to the Ferry and the Plantation there.

Thursday, 21*st*. Mr. Thompson, a Presbiterian Minister (introduced by Mr. Robt. Adam) came here, dined, and stayed all Night.

Friday, 22*d*. Rid to the Ferry, Dogue Run and Muddy hole Plantations.

Mr. Lund Washington and his Wife dined here, and Mr. Thompson went away after Breakfast.

The leaves of the locust Trees this year, as the last, began to fade, and many of them dye. The Black Gum Trees, which I had transplanted to my avenues or Serpentine Walks, and which put out leaf and looked well at first, are all dead; so are the Poplars, and most of the Mulberrys. The Crab apple trees also, which were transplanted into the shrubberies, and the Papaws are also dead, as also the Sassafras in a great degree. The Pines wholly, and several of the Cedars, as also the Hemlock almost entirely. The live Oak which I thought was dead is putting out shoots from the bottom and have appearances of doing well.

Saturday, 23*d*. Rid to Muddy hole and River Plantations.

Finished my Hay Harvest in the Neck.

Perceived a few Plants of the Pride of China (the Seed of which were sowed on the 13th of June) to be coming up.

And also the Jien pien Cou fa — between the 8 and 9 pegs — and the Seeds without name (only one) between the 4 and 5 pegs — the 1st in the second, and the other in

the 3d Row of the Chinese Sowing. These, tho unnoticed at the time, have been up several days.

Monday, 25*th*. Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, and in the Neck.

Tuesday, 26*th*. With Mrs. Washington, Miss Bassett, and the two children, I dined at Mr. Lund Washington's.

On my return, found Mr. Will Shaw (whom I had engaged to live with me as a Book keeper, Secretary, &ca. here.)

Wednesday, 27*th*. Finished cutting my Meadows at Dogue Run, but the Rain prevented my getting it secured either in cocks or otherwise.

Also cut my Field's Pea's, the Seed of which came from Albany.

Mrs. Fendal,[1] Miss Lee (eldest daughter of the President of Congress [2]), Miss Nancy Lee, Granddaughter of Richard Lee, Esqr. of Maryland, Mr. Chas. Lee, and Mr. Lawe. Washington, Lund Washington and their Wives — and Mr. Lawe. Washington, Son of Lawrence, and Mr. Thos. Washington son to Robert, all dined here and went away in the Afternoon.

Thursday, 28*th*. Finished my Harvest at Dogue Run, which compleated the business of Haymaking for this year.

Friday, 29*th*. Cut the Weeds, wild grass, etca., which had intermixed with the Clover that I sowed at the home house and at Muddy hole — this being the second time I cut that at home, the cutting being about a week before Harvest.

Rid to my Plantations in the Neck, Muddy hole, Dogue

[1] Mrs. Philip (?) R. Fendall, of Alexandria.
[2] Richard Henry Lee.

Run, and Ferry, at all of which they had got their Wheat in except at the Neck Plantn.

Saturday, 30*th*. Put Shades over the Spruce and Hemlock pines brought me by Genl. Lincoln, which seemed to be declining fast.

Mr. Shaw went this afternoon to Dumfries.

AUGUST

Monday, 1*st*. Left home at 6 Oclock P.M. and, after escorting Fanny Bassett to Alexandria, I proceeded to Doctr. Stuart's, where I breakfasted; and from thence went to George Town to the Annual Meeting of the Potomack Company appointed to be held at that place.

About Noon, a sufficient number of sharers having assembled to continue a meeting, we proceeded to business, Mr. Danl. Carroll in the Chair; when the President and directors of the Company made a report of their transactions since their appointment, which was received and approved of.

The Board of Directors then sat, and after coming to some Resolutions respecting Rations to be allowed the Workmen, the mode of payment, manner of keeping an acct. of their work, &ca., &ca., and to a determination of proceeding first to the Senneca Falls and next to those at the Mouth of Shannondoah, for the purpose of investigation and to direct the operations thereat. Adjourned *Sine Die*.

Dined at Shuter's Tavern,[1] and lodged at Mr. Oneal's.[2]

Tuesday, 2*d*. Left George Town about 10 Oclock, in Company with all the Directors except Govr. Lee,[3] who

[1] John Suter's Tavern.

[2] Bernard O'Neale, or O'Neill, one of the stockholders in the Potomac Company.

[3] Thomas Sim Lee.

went to Mellwood [1] to visit Mr. Igns. Digges [2] (his father in Law), who lay at the point of death, and being accompanied by Colo. James Johnson (Brother to Govr. Johnson), and Messrs. Beall,[3] Johns.[4] and others who took with them a cold collation, with spirits, Wine, &ca. We dined at Mr. Beall's Mill 14 Miles from George Town, and proceeded — that is the Directors and Colo. Johnson — to a Mr. Goldsborough's, a decent Farmer's House at the head of the Senneca falls, about 6 Miles and 20 from George Town.

Wednesday, 3d. Having provided Canoes and being joined by Mr. Rumsey the principal Manager, and Mr. Stewart an assistant to him, in carrying on the Works, we proceeded to examine the falls; and beginning at the head of them went through the whole by Water, and continued from the foot of them to the Great falls. After which, returning back to a Spring on the Maryland Side between the Seneca and Great Falls, we partook (about 5 Oclock) of another cold Collation which a Colo. Orme,[5] a Mr. Turner and others of the Neighbourhood, had provided, and returned back by the way of Mr. Beall's Mill to our old Quarters at Mr. Goldsborough's. The distance as estimated 8 Miles.

The Water through these Falls is of sufficient depth for good navigation; and as formidable as I had conceived them to be; but by no means impracticable. The principal difficulties lye in rocks which occasion a crooked passage. These once removed, renders the passage safe without the aid of Locks and may be effected for the Sum mentioned in Mr. Jno. Ballendine's estimate (the largest extant), but in a different Manner than that proposed by him. It appearing to me, and was so unanimously determined by the

[1] Mellwood, Maryland. [2] Ignatius Digges. [3] Thomas Beall.
[4] Thomas Johnson. [5] Colonel Archibald Orme, of Montgomery County.

Board of Directors, that a channel through the bed of the River in a strait direction, and as much in the course of the current as may be, without a grt. increase of labour and expence, would be preferable to that through the Gut, which was the choice of Mr. Ballendine for a Canal with Locks. The last of which we thought unnecessary, and the first more expensive in the first instance, besides being liable to many inconveniences which the other is not; as it would probably be frequently choaked with drift wood, Ice, and other rubbish, which woud be thrown therein through the several inlets already made by the rapidity of the currts. in freshes and others which probably would be made thereby; whereas a navigation through the bed of the River when once made will, in all probability, remain for ever, as the currt. here will rather clear, than contribute to choak the passage. It is true, no track path [1] can be had in a navigation thus ordered, nor does there appear a necessity for it. Tracking constitutes a large part of Mr. Ballendine's estimate. The want of which, in the rapid parts of the River, (if Mr. Rumsey's plan for working Boats against stream by the force of Mechanical powers should fail [2]) may be supplied by chains buoyed up to haul by, which would be equally easy, more certain, and less dangerous than setting up with Poles. Whilst track paths, it is apprehended, can not be made to stand, and may endanger the Banks if the Wood is stripped from them, which is their present security against washing.

The distance between the Seneca and Great Falls is about 5 Miles; and except in one place within ¾ of a Mile of the latter, the navigation now is, or easily may be made, very good; and at this place, the obstruction arises from the shallowness of the Water. Boats may go almost to the

[1] Towpath along the bank.

[2] This was Rumsey's first attempt; later he developed a steamboat. (See diary entry and note for September 6, 1784, *ante*.)

Spout with safety; to the place where the Water passes when the River is full it is quite easy and safe to descend to, being in a Cove of still Water.

Thursday, *4th.* In order to be more certain of the advantages and disadvantages of the Navigation proposed by Mr. Ballendine, through the Cut; we took a more particular view of it, — walking down one side and returning on the other and were more fully convinced of the impropriety of its adoption: first, because it would be more expensive in the first instance; and secondly, because it would be subject to the ravages of freshes, etca., as already mentioned, without any superiority over the one proposed through the bed of the River, unless a track path should be preferable to hauling up by a Chain with buoy's.

Engaged nine labourers with whom to *commence* the work.

Friday, *5th.* After Breakfast, and after directing Mr. Rumsey when he had marked the way and set the labourers to Work, to meet us at Harpers ferry on the Evening of the Morrow (at the conflux of the Shannondoah with the Potomack), myself and the Directors set out for the same place by way of Frederick Town (Maryland). Dined at a Dutchman's 2 Miles above the Mo[uth] of Monocasy [1] and reached the former about 5 Oclock. Drank Tea, supped, and lodged at Govr. Johnson's.

In the Evening the Bells rang, and Guns were fired; and a Committee waited upon me by order of the Gentlemen of the Town to request that I wd. stay next day and partake of a public dinner which the Town were desirous of giving me. But as arrangements had been made, and the time for examining the Shannondoah Falls, previous to the day fixed for receiving labourers into pay, was short, I found it most expedient to decline the honor.

[1] August 5. 'Tavern at Monocasy 6*s*.' (*Cash Account.*)

Saturday, 6th. Breakfasted in Frederick Town, at Govr. Johnson's, and dined at Harpers ferry.[1] Took a view of the River, from the Banks, as we road up the bottom from Pain's falls to the ferry, as well as it could be done on Horseback. Sent a Canoe in a Waggon from the Ferry to Keeptriest Furnace in ordr. to descend the Falls therin tomorrow.

In my ride from George Town to this place, I made the following observations: That the Land about the first, is not only hilly, and a good deal mixed with flint stone, but is of an indifferent quality 'till we left the great Road (3 Miles from G: Town) which leads to the former. The quality of the Land then improves, and seems well adapted to the culture of small grain, but continues broken and by no means in a high state of cultivation. It is also better timbered and of a sameness to the Seneca Falls. That about the Maryland Sugar Lands (1400 Acres of which belong to George Plater, Esqe.) which is five Miles above Seneca, is remarkably fine, and very level. From thence to Monocasy about 12 Miles further they are less level and of much inferior quality. That from Monocasy to Frederick Town (distant 12 or 13 Miles) nothing can well exceed them for fertility of Soil, convenient levelness, and luxuriant growth of Timber. The Farms seem to be under good cultivation, which is somewhat surprising, as the possessors of them (on a Manner belonging to Chs. Carroll, Esqr. of Carrolton, who holds in one Tract, 12 or 14,000 Acres) are Tenants at will, paying for the low ground on Potomack and Monocasy 5/. Maryland Curry. pr. Acre and for the high land 4/. for all the land within the boundaries of their respective Tenements. That from Frederick Town to the Kittoctan Mountain (about 7 Miles) the Land is *nearly* similar, but not quite so luxuriant to the eye, and from that Mountain to the river estimated 10

[1] 'By Exps. at Morris's Tavern 10*s* 6*d*.' (*Cash Account.*)

Miles it is more hilly and of a second quality but strong and very productive especially of small grain. That the remaining 3 Miles to the Ferry is river bottom and of course good.

Frederick Town stands on a branch of Monocasy, and lyes rather low. The Country about it is beautiful and seems to be in high cultivation. It is said to contain about [ ] Houses; for the most part of wood; but there are many of brick and Stone, and some good ones. The number of Inhabitants are computed to be [ ] Souls. There are Churches, a Court House, Work House and other public buildings. The Mechanics are numerous, in proportion to the aggregate; and the spirit of Industry seems to pervade the place, tho' trade, it is said, has slackened.

Sunday, 7*th*. About Sunrising, the Directors and myself rid up to Keeptrieste, where Canoes were provided, in which we crossed to the Maryland side of the river and examined a Gut, or swash, through which it is supposed the Navigation must be conducted. This Swash is shallow at the entrance, but having sufficient fall, may easily (by removing some of the rocks) admit any quantity of Water required. From the entrance to the foot, may be about 300 yards in a semi-circular direction with many loose, and some fixed rocks to remove. Having examined this passage, I returned to the head of the fall, and in one of the Canoes with two skilful hands descended them with the common currt. in its natural bed, which I found greatly incommoded with rocks, shallows and a crooked channel, which left no doubt of the propriety of preferring a passage through the swash.

From the foot of the Swash the Water is pretty good for 3 or 400 yards further, when there is another fall of it, or rapid with an uneven bottom which occasions a consider-

able ripple at Top; but as their is sufficient depth, and the channel middling straight, the difficulty here in descending is not great, but to return without the aids spoke of at the Seneca falls may be labourious. From hence the Water is good to the head of the Island just above the ferry, by which it is shoal on the Virginia side with some rocks, and tho' deepest on the Maryland side, is worse on acct. of the Rocks which are more numerous. The distance from the head of the Fall to the Ferry may be about a Mile and half.

Here we breakfasted; after which we set out to explore the Falls below; and having but one Canoe, Colo. Gilpin, Mr. Rumsey (who joined us according to appointment last Night) and myself, embarked in it, with intention to pass thro' what is called the Spout (less than half a Mile below the ferry). But when we came to it, the Company on the Shore, on acct. of the smallness, and low sides of the Vessel, dissuaded us from the attempt, least the roughness of the Water, occasioned by the Rocky bottom, should fill and involve us in danger. To avoid the danger therefore we passed through a narrow channel on the left, near the Maryland shore and continued in the Canoe to the lower end of Pain's falls distant, according to estimation, 3 Miles. These falls may be described as follow:

From the Ferry for about 3 hundred yards, or more, the Water is deep with rocks here and there, near the Surface; then a Ripple; the Water betwn. which and the Spout, as before. The Spout takes its name from the rapidity of the Water, and its dashings, occasioned by a gradual, but pretty considerable fall, over a Rocky bottom which makes an uneven surface and considerable swell. The Water however, is of sufficient depth through it; but the Channel not being perfectly straight, skilful hands are necessary to navigate and conduct Vessels through this rapid. From hence, their is pretty smooth and even Water with loose

stone, and some rocks, for the best part of a Mile; to a ridge of rocks which cross the river with Intervals, thro' which the Water passes in crooked directions; but the passage which seemed most likely to answer our purpose of Navigation was on the Maryland side, being freest from rocks but shallow. From hence to what are called Pain's falls the Water is tolerably smooth, with Rocks here and there. These are best passed on the Maryland side. They are pretty swift, shallow, and foul at bottom, but the difficulties may be removed. From the bottom of these Falls, leaving an Island on the right, and the Maryland Shore on the left, the easy and good Navigation below is entered.

At the foot of these falls the Directors and myself (Govr. Lee having joined us the Evening before) held a meeting. At which it was determined, as we conceived the Navigation could be made through these (commonly called the Shannondoah) Falls without the aid of Locks, and by opening them would give eclat to the undertaking and and great ease to the upper Inhabitants, as Water transportation would be immediately had to the Great Falls from Fort Cumberland, to employ the upper hands in this work instead of removing the obstructions above, and gave Mr. Rumsey directions to do so accordingly, with general Instructions for his Governmt.

Govr. Lee, on Acct. of the death of his Father in Law, Mr. Igns. Digges, and consequent circumstances, left us at this place with a view of carrying his Lady next day to Mellwood. The rest of us returned to the Tavern at Harpers Ferry.

Monday, 8*th*. This being the day appointed for labourers to engage in the work we waited to see the issue until Evening, when Mr. Johnson and his Brother Col. Johnson took leave of us.

Many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood visited us here

to day, among whom Mr. Wormeley,[1] Senr., my Brother Charles, Colo. Morgan,[2] Captn. Shepherd, and Colo. Shepherd his Brother of Wheeling on the Ohio, were of the number.

Tuesday, *9th.* Having provided a light and convenient Boat, hired two hands to work her, and laid in some Stores, Colonels Fitzgerald and Gilpin, and myself embarked in it, leaving Mr. Rumsey to engage more h[an]ds and to set those he had to work about 6 Oclock P.M.

In this Boat we passed through the Spout, and all the other Falls and Rapids, and breakfasted at a Captn. Smith's on the Maryland side; to which place our horses had been sent the Evening before. After which, and dining on our prog[ress] at Knowland's Ferry (about 15 Miles from Harpers) we lodged at the House of a Mr. Tayler, about three Miles above the Mouth of Goose Creek and about 10 M below Knowland's.

Wednesday, *10th.* Before Sun rise we embarked and about Nine Oclock arrived at the head of the Seneca Falls, and breakfasted with our old landlord Mr. Goldsborough, to which place our horses had proceeded the overnight from Captn. Smith's.

The Nature of the River, from the foot of Pain's falls to which a description has already been given, is — From that place to Smith's ferry, on the No. of the Island already noticed (about 2 Miles) the Water, generally, is pretty smooth, with round stones of different sizes at the bottom and in places shallow. From hence to Lucket's ferry at the Mouth of the Maryland Kittoctan (about 5 Miles farther) the Water is Smooth and of sufficient depth

[1] Ralph Wormley.

[2] Colonel Daniel (?) Morgan, who was then living at Winchester. Washington apparently forgot that Morgan had been promoted to a brigadier-general during the Revolution.

in one part or other of the river for Boats, except at one ripple near to, and just above Lucket's ferry, which is occasioned principally by a fish dam. From and between this and the Virginia Kittoctan, where the river passes through the Mountain of that name, is what are called Hook's falls, which are no otherwise difficult than from the Shallowness of the Water and crookedness of the Channel, both of which it is presumed, may be much improved. From these Falls to Knowland's ferry, which is about 4 Miles and Six from Lucket's, the Navigation, leaving Trammel's Islands on the left and Peach Island on the right, is easy and pleasant, with only shoal Water in one or two places which may be deepned without much expence. From hence to the Seneca Falls, the Navigation is in no part difficult. In one or two places, particularly above the upper Island now, or formerly, belonging to the Hites, the Water is rather Shoal, but may readily be deepned (as the bottom is of round stone), if a better passage cannot be had on the No. side of the Island. The Fish pots, of which there are many in the River, serve to clog the Navigation, and to render the passage more difficult upon the whole.

Between the Shannondoah falls, and those of Seneca, there are many valuable Islands; but those of Lee, McCarty, Hites, and Trammels, may greatly claim the preference; the River Bottoms have also a rich and luxurient appearance and in some places look to be wide.

After Breakfasting, and spending some time with the labourers at their different works, of blowing, removing stone, getting Coal, wood, &ca., we left the Seneca Falls about 2 Oclock A.M. and crossing the River about half a Mile below them and a little above Captn. Trammels [1] we got into the great Road from Leesburgh to Alexandria, and

[1] Trammel's was a short distance above Great Falls, and the first lock of the Potomac Company's canal was between his place, on the Virginia side, and the Falls. The remains of this lock are still distinguishable.

about half after Nine Oclock in the Evening I reached home after an absence from it of 10 days.

Thursday, 11*th*. The Drought, the effects of which were visible when I left home, had by this (no rain having fallen in my absence) greatly affected vegetation. The grass was quite burnt and crisp under foot, Gardens parched, and the young Trees in my Shrubberies, notwithstanding they had been watered (as it is said) according to my direction, were much on the decline. In a word nature had put on a melancholy look — every thing seeming to droop.

Friday, 12*th*. Mrs. Fendall and Miss [Lee?], second Daughter of the President of Congress, dined here and returned home after it.

Saturday, 13*th*. Rid to my Muddy hole and Neck Plantations, and beheld corn in a melancholy situation, fired in most places to the Ear with little appearance of yielding if rain should soon come, and a certainty of making nothing if it did not. Attempts had been made at both these Plantations to sow Wheat; but stirring the ground in the parched condition it was in, had so affected the Corn as to cause well grounded apprehensions that it would die if not restored by seasonable and sufficient Rains. This put a stop to further seeding, which is almost as bad as the injury done by it to the Corn as latter sowing in old Corn ground seldom produces. At the first mentioned place about 39 Bushels had been sowed, at the latter less.

The two kinds of Chinese Seeds which had appeared before I left home were destroyed either by the drought or insects; that between the 8th and 9th stakes in the 2d row was entirely eradicated. Indeed some kind of fly, or bug, had begun to prey upon the leaves before I left home. The

other was broke of near the ground and cannot I fear recover.

In the Evening late, Doctr. Craik arrived, on a visit to John Alton (my Overseer in the Neck) who has been ill, and confined to his bed for near 3 Weeks.

Sunday, 14*th*. Doctr. Craik left this after Breakfast.

Monday, 15*th*. Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue Run, and Muddy hole. Found the two first were suffering as I had described the other two on Saturday, and that both had discontinued sowing of Wheat, after putting about 30 Bushels at each place in the ground.

My Overseer at the Ferry (Fairfax) ascribes the wretched condition of his Corn to the bug which has proved so destructive to both Wheat and Corn on James River and elsewhere equally with the drought, and shewed me hundreds of them and their young under the blades at the lower joints of the Stock. The Corn is effected by their sucking the juices, which occasions a gradual decline of the whole plant. He also shewed me a piece of course grass that was quite killed by them, by the same kind of operation.

Mrs. Washington and Fanny Bassett went to Abingdon to day on a visit to Mrs. Stuart, who had been sick of a fever and head ach for 15 or 16 days. The former returned, the latter stayed.

In the Evening my Brother John came in.

From the Acct. given me by my Overseers the yield of my Wheat stacks is very indifferent.

Tuesday, 16*th*. Accompanied my Brother to Alexandria and meeting Mr. and Mrs. Fendal and Miss Lee who proposed to dine here, I made but little stay in Town. My Brother, not being able to complete his business, did not

return till the Evening. Mr. Fendal, Mrs. Fendall, &ca., stayed all Night.

Wednesday, 17*th*. Mr., Mrs. Fendall, and Miss Nancy went away before breakfast, and my Brother John directly after it.

Doctr. Craik came here to Dinner on a visit to John Alton and stayed all Night.

Thursday, 18*th*. Doctr. Craik set off after breakfast to return home, but a Messenger recalled him to Jno. Alton, where he remained all day and Night.

Mrs. Washington and Nelly Custis visited Mrs Stuart, and returned in the Evening with Fanny Bassett.

Began with James and Tom to work on my Park fencing. Cut down the Cherry trees in the Court yard.

Friday, 19*th*. Doctr. Craik returned from John Alton's, took breakfast, and proceeded home.

Encouraged by the little rain which had fallen, and the hope that more would fall, I sowed about half an acre of Turnips at home, and some at Dogue Run Plantation.

Saturday, 20*th*. Mr. Shaw went to Dumfries.

Rid to all my plantations, and visited John Alton, who still lay ill, and in great danger.

At Muddy hole, there appeared to have fallen more rain than at any other of my Plantations. At this place my Overseer had recommended sowing of Wheat, and was continuing it. In the Neck they had done the same, but finding the ground only superficially wet, they had discontinued it. Neither at the Ferry nor Dogue Run had they attempted to sow any, tho at the latter there had been a good shower, but by no means a sufficiency of rain.

Tuesday, 23*d*. Doctr. Craik came here before Dinner, visited John Alton in the Evening, and returned and stayed all Night.

Mr. Shaw returned home in the Afternoon.

With the Guinea grass Seed I had on hand, I began to make good the missing spaces of what was sowed in my small or Botanical Garden on the 13th of June last, but did not half finish it.

Wednesday, 24*th*. Doctr. Craik went away after Breakfast.

Sowed some more of the Guinea Grass seed to day in the manner of yesterday.

Measured round the ground which I intend to inclose for a Paddock, and find it to be abt. 1600 yards.

Received Seven hounds sent me from France by the Marqs. de la Fayette,[1] by way of New York, viz. 3 dogs and four Bitches.

My Boat went to Alexandria and brought home 100 Bushels of salt, a hogshead of common Rum and a Cask of Nails 20d.

Thursday, 25*th*. Finished sowing the Spaces of the Guinea Grass in the little Garden.

Friday, 26*th*. A Mr. Martel, (or some such name) a Frenchman came in and dined, and just before Dinner Mr. Arthur Lee, and Mr. P. Fendall got here; all of whom went

[1] 'The Hounds which you were so obliging as to send me arrived safe and are of promising appearance — To Monsieur le Comte Doilliamson (if I miscall him, your handwriting is to blame and in honor you are bound to rectify the error) and in an especial manner to his fair Competesse my thanks are due for this favor.' (*Washington to Lafayette*, September 1, 1785.) The Comtesse had added her favorite dog to the small pack and Washington's letter to the Comte, which he enclosed to Lafayette, assured the Comtesse that he would take special care of this dog. The dogs were brought over to America by John Quincy Adams whose management of the matter did not commend itself to Washington.

away after it was over. In the Afternoon, Doctr. Marshall[1] and his Sister, and Miss Hanson crossed the River, drank Tea, and returned.

Received 63 Bushels of Stone Lime from Loudoun, for which I paid 2/6 pr. Bushl. and allowed 18/ for the difference of coming to this place instead of going to Alexandria.

My Boat brot. home another 100 Bushels of Salt from Alexandria, and two Casks of 30d. Nails containing upwards of 13 M. The Cask of 20d Nails, which were brot. home on Wednesday, being returned.

Saturday, 27*th*. About 10 Oclock it clouded up and rained a little; then cleared; but about 5 Oclock, a very black and heavy cloud arose in the Southwest, out of which (about Six Oclock) proceedd. for a few minutes, heavy wind, and a powerful shower; the last of which continued about 12 or 15 Minutes. This being succeeded by lighter showers, wch. with intervals continuing thro' the Night afforded abundance of rain. Before this came up (and during the slight shower in the Morning) I planted in a small piece of ground which I had prepared in the inclosure below the stable (vineyard) about 1000 grains of the cape of Good Hope Wheat (which was given to me by Colo. Spaight), in Rows 2 feet apart, and at 5 inches distant in the Rows.

Fanny Bassett crossed the River immediately after dinner, on a visit to Miss Hanson.

Sunday, 28*th*. In the afternoon Doctr. Craik came here, on a visit to Jno. Alton.

Monday, 29*th*. Doctr. Craik after visiting John Alton

[1] Dr. William Marshall, of Piscataway, Prince George County. He had served as a Surgeon's mate, Second Maryland Regiment, during the Revolution. He was a founder of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, 1799.

before breakfast went after it to see Lund Washington's child, who had been seized with fits and the family alarmed by it.

Tuesday, 30*th*. Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue Run, and Muddy hole. Found the Corn a good deal improved in its looks, and that it had put forth many young shoots, but it is to be apprehended that the tassel in a great deal of it had got too dry for the farina to impregnate the grain.

The Wheat which had been sowed before the late rains fell was up, and coming up very well.

I observed that Corn, wch. had been planted under the Persimon trees in the fields, looked as thriving and well as that which was not shaded. The same thing I had observed before (formerly) with respect to Wheat under these sort of trees, and also of grass, which proves them to be a valuable tree in enclosures.

Mrs. Washington visited the Sick Child of Mr. L. Washington, and returned to dinner.

Finished gravelling the right hand Walk leading to the front gate from the Court yard.

Wednesday, 31*st*. Rid to the Plantations in the Neck, and at Muddy hole. Found the corn at the first as mentioned yesterday at the other places.

Mrs. Washington rid to see the sick child of Mr. Lund Washington, from whence Doctr. Craik came here to Breakfast. After which he visited John Alton, and then returned to Maryland.

The Cape of Good Hope Wheat, which I sowed on Saturday, was perceived to be coming up to day; and the Bird pepper, which was sowed in the Botanical garden on the 13th of June, was just making its appearance and thick.

Mr. Shaw went to Alexandria immediately after breakfast and did not return to day.

This day I told Doctr. Craik that I would contribute one hundred Dollars pr. ann. as long as it was necessary, towards the Education of His Son, George Washington,[1] either in this Country or in Scotland.

SEPTEMBER

Thursday, first. Cloudy Morning, with the Wind at East. Between 9 and 10 Oclock it began to drip slow rain, in which I planted the remainder of the Wheat from the Cape of Good Hope, leaving 230 grains to replant the missing seeds, and some that had been washed up by the late rains; the whole number of grains given me by Colo. Spaight amounting to 2476; which in measure, might be about half a Gill.

Below the Wheat, and in a continuation of the rows, nearly to the bottom of the Inclosure, I sowed the Guinea grass Seed which I reserved from my sowing on the 13th of last June in my Botanical Garden.

Mr. Shaw came home about Noon.

Saturday, 3d. In the Evening James Madison, Esqr., came in.

Monday, 5th. About 2 Oclock, Fanny Bassett and Mr [ ] Craik third Son of the Doctr. came here; the last of whom went away after dinner.

Mr. Madison left this after Breakfast.

Began to spade up the Lawn in front of the Court yard, and also began to prepare the scaffolds for Cieling the Piazza.

[1] Washington contributed to the education of several children of his various friends. Thomas Posey, son of his neighbor, Captain John Posey, was one of these. George Washington Craik later acted as secretary to Washington for a short time.

Tuesday, 6th. Fanny Bassett went to Mr. Lund Washington's and stayed all Night. I rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole, and returned about 12 Oclock.

A Mr. Tayler,[1] Clerk to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, came here whilst we were at Dinner, sent by Mr. Jay, by order of Congress, to take copies of the report of the Commissioners who had been sent in by me to New York, to take an Acct. of the Slaves which had been sent from that place (previous to the evacuation) by the British.[2]

Wednesday, 7th. Fanny Bassett returned before Dinner, and Doctr. Craik came to it and went away afterwards to visit John Alton, and his children at Mr. Chichesters from thence.

About Noon brought two Negro men from the River Plantation to assist in spading up the ground in front of the court yard, and Cornelius being sick Tom Davis went to assist them.

Bought 28,430 good Cyprus shingles.

At Night, a Man of the name of Purdie, came to offer himself to me as a Housekeeper, or Household Steward. He had some testimonials respecting his character, but

[1] George Taylor, Jr., son of George Taylor, the Signer. He had been one of the professional penmen employed by Varick to copy out Washington's letters at the close of the Revolution, and also had served as a clerk in the office of the Secretary of the Continental Congress.

[2] This action of the British was the subject of a spirited correspondence between the commissioners, appointed by Washington to superintend the embarkation of the British troops at New York in 1783, and the British commander-in-chief. The principal purpose was to prevent the British carrying off runaway slaves and other property. The argument came to an *impasse* and the American commissioners withdrew. The report desired appears to have been a series of documents sent by the commissioners to Washington on various dates during the months of May and June, 1783. One of the principal papers was the report of Egbert Benson and William Stephens Smith to Washington, May 30, 1783, a ten-page document with several enclosures. The entire correspondence and all collateral papers were enclosed in Washington's letter to the President of Congress, June 23, 1783, and contemporary copies of them are now in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

being intoxicated, and in other respects appearing in an unfavorable light, I informed him that he would not answer my purposes, but that he might stay all night.

Thursday, 8*th*. Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole and in the Neck. Found that at the first they had begun to sow Rye yesterday (as they had also done at the Ferry Plantation), and at the latter to day.

Doctr. Craik came here to Breakfast and crossed the river afterwards. Purdie went away.

Friday, 9*th*. Rid up to Alexandria with Mrs. Washington, who wanted to get some cloathing for little Washington Custis; and for the purpose of seeing Colo. Fitzgerald and Colo. Gilpin on the business of the Potomack Company. Returned home to Dinner.

Saturday, 10*th*. Rid with Fanny Bassett, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Shaw, to meet a Party from Alexandria at Johnson's Spring (on my Land where Clifton formerly lived) where we dined on a cold dinner brought from Town by Water, and spent the Afternoon agreeably, returning home by Sun down or a little after it.

From the Scarcity of Apples generally this year, and the depredations which were committing every Night upon the few I have, I found it necessary (tho much too early) to gather and put them up for Winter use. Finished the Cieling of the Piaza.

Sunday, 11*th*. Mr. Potts,[1] and Doctors Mortimer and Craik junr., dined here and returned to Alexandria in the Evening.

Mr. Shaw and Mr. Tayler went to Alexandria after breakfast in my barge and did not return until after midnight.

[1] John Potts, Jr.

Monday, 12*th*. Rid to my Ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole plantations. A Mr. Cawood,[1] Sheriff of Charles County in Maryland, came here in the forenoon with an Acct. of Taxes of the Land I hold in that County and in Nangemy Neck. Promised to get Doctr. Craik to enquire into the matter and to lodge money with him to pay it.

Tuesday, 13*th*. Began to level the ground which had been spaded up in the lawn fronting the House, having turned it up as far as to where the old cross wall of the former Garden stood.

Colo. Willm. Fitzhugh of Maryland and his Son William, and Doctor Marshall, came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Wednesday, 14*th*. Colo. Fitzhugh and Son and Doctr. Marshall went away after Breakfast, and Doctr. Craik came to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Thursday, 15*th*. Doctr. L'Moyer[2] came in before Dinner.

Friday, 16*th*. Mr. Hiebert came here to dinner and returned to Alexandria afterwards.

Sent my Chariot at the request of Mrs. Stuart with Betcy and Patcy Custis to Mr. Calvert's. Nelly and Washington Custis went with them to return with the Carriage.

Saturday, 17*th*. The rain coming on moderately, induced me to sow the Ground which I had levelled of the Lawn

[1] Caywood?

[2] Dr. Le Moyeur, or Le Mayeur, a French dentist of reputation. He came to America in 1780 with letters of introduction to Sir Henry Clinton. After a time he resented some remarks derogatory to the French which were made at Sir Henry's dinner-table and forthwith became *persona non grata* to the British. In 1783 he succeeded in getting out of New York City and treated Washington's teeth.

whilst it was raining, but the heavy showers wch. fell afterwards washed and floated it into heaps.

In the Afternoon when the rain had ceased, I made an experiment of transplanting Turnips to see if the method would succeed in practice. In a part of the Turnip Inclosure, where the Seed had been sowed the 19th of last Mo., I pulled up all that ground on a square of about ten feet, cut the Tap root of a sufficient Number of Plants and transplanted them thereon at the distance of a foot each way, from one another.

Sunday, 18*th*. Colo. Henley, Mr. Porter, Mr. Hunter, and Doctr. and Col. Ramsay came here, dined and returned in the afternoon.

Monday, 19*th*. Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole. Took my French Hounds with me for the purpose of Airing them and giving them a knowledge of the grounds round about this place.

Upon my return, found a Mr. Defray here, a Dane from Copenhagen, who had been cast away on the coast of No. Carolina.

Doctr. La Moyer left this for Alexandria in my Carriage after Breakfast.

Tuesday, 20*th*. About Noon, agreeably to an appointment, I set off for the Seneca Falls. Dined at Colo. Gilpin's and proceeded afterwards with him to Mr. Bryan Fairfax's where we lodged.

Wednesday, 21*st*. The rain continuing without intermission until 10 or 11 Oclock, and no appearance of fair Weather until noon, we did not leave Mr. Fairfax's till a little after it, and then, meeting much difficulty in procuring a vessel, did not get to the works at the Seneca fall

until the labourer's had quit them. We then went to our old quarters at Mr. Goldsborough's were lodged — Mr. Fairfax accompanied us. The Wind for the greater part of the day (though there was not much of it) was at No. West.

Thursday, 22*d*. The Wind having shifted to the Eastward in the Night it commenced a fine raining again, and did not altogether cease till Noon. However, about 10 Oclock we left Mr. Goldsborough's, and in a boat passed down the Seneca falls to the place where the workmen were blowing Rocks; but the Water having raised, and the river being muddy, I could form no accurate judgment of the progress which had been made. To me it seemed as if we had advanced but little, owing to the fewness, and sickliness of the hands, which it appeared ought to be increased and their Wages raised in order to obtain them.

After viewing the works we crossed to the Virginia side and proceeded to the Great Falls, where by appointment we were to have met Colo. Fitzgerald, and Vessels to take us by Water to the little Falls in order to review the river between the two. The latter we found, but not the first, and parting with Mr. Fairfax here, and sending our Horses by Land to Mr. Hipkin's at the Falls Warehouse, we did, after having examined the ground along wch. it is proposed to open the Canal, and which nature seems clearly to have marked out, embarked about 3 Oclock; Colo. Gilpin, myself, and one hand in one Canoe, and two other people in another Canoe, and proceeded down the river to the place where it is proposed to let the Water again into a Canal to avoid the little Falls.

The place for the Canal at the Great Falls, as I have just observed, is most evidently marked along a glade which runs quite from the Still Water above the Spout, or Cataract, to the river ¾ or a Mile between it, and from appear-

ance will not be deep to dig; but at the upper and lower end, is a good deal incommoded with rocks. The glade itself seems tolerably free from them, but how the bottom may turn out when the Soil is taken of I know not. More than probably it will be found stony.

At the Mouth of the branch wch. issues from this glade locks I think may be well secured by the point of a hill and Rocks just above it. Here we embarked in smooth water, that is not very rapid; and in a quarter of a mile passed a short rapid not difficult, a Mile further another rapid, rather worse but not very bad, and afterwards two more, the last of which in its present state is the worst, but none of them very bad. In many parts the River is tolerably smooth, the current by no means rapid, and upon the whole easier than I had conceived. In places it is tolerably wide and not deeper than I had supposed. Between the two Falls, there are several small Islands, most of them Rocky, but one tolerably large and to appearance of good Land.[1]

The place at which it is proposed to take the Canal out, above the little falls,[2] seems favourably formed for it by an Island which may be abt. half a mile above the Falls, and the Land through which it must pass on the Maryland side level but stoney all the way to the Mouth or near it of the Canal begun by Mr. Ballendine, if it is carried on a Slope. If on the other Hd. it is to go on a level, the Hill side adjoining does not appear unfavourable.

Lodged this Night at Mr. Hipken's at the Falls Warehouse,[3] where we arrived at Dark tho' we were only 2 hours and an half from the place of embarkation at the Great Falls to the debarking above the little Falls. The little fall, if a Rock or two was removed, might be passed without

[1] Now known as Sycamore Island.

[2] A little above, but approximately the place where the feeder from the river now enters the Cumberland Canal at Little Falls.

[3] September 22d. 'By Exps. at Seneca falls 9*s*.'

any hazard, more especially if some of the Rocks which lye deep and which occasion a dashing surface could be removed.[1]

Friday, 23*d*. After taking an Early breakfast at Mr. Hipkin's set out and reached home about 11 Oclock.

About one Oclock My Nephew, G. A. Washington, and the two Mr. Bassetts arrived.

Found the late rains had brought up the Seeds of the pride of China, and several more of the Palmetto.

Sunday, 25*th*. Doctr. La Moyer and Doctr. Craik came here to Dinner. The latter went away afterwards, the other stayed all Night.

Monday, 26*th*. Went up to Alexandria to meet Colonels Gilpin and Fitzgerald on business of the Potomack Compa. Doctr. La Moyer, Mr. B. Bassett, and G. A. Washington accompanied me, the first of whom remained there. Dined at the New Tavern kept by Mr. Lyle.[2] Brought home Mr. Thomas McCarty with whom I had agreed to serve me in the capicity of a Ho. Keeper or Household Steward at Thirty pounds pr. ann.

Tuesday, 27*th*. Doctr. Craik, who came here last Night, returned this Morning to Maryland.

Wednesday, 28*th*. Doctr. Jenifer and his Wife came here to Dinner and went away after it to Colo. McCarty's.

Mr. Tayler having finished the business which brought him here, I sent him up to Alexandria to take a passage in the Stage, for New York.

[1] There was, evidently, a greater volume of water in 1785 than there is to-day, as it is impossible to conceive of any boat of size passing down Little Falls as it now is. It is a perilous and almost impossible passage even for canoes and rowboats.

[2] William or Henry Lyles.

Thursday, 29th. Mr. Sanders, an Undertaker in Alexandria, came down between breakfast and Dinner to advise a proper mode of shingling, putting Copper in the Gutters between the Pediments and Dormants, and the Roof, and to conduct the Water along the Eves to Spouts, and promised to be down again on Tuesday next to see the Work properly begun.

Friday, 30th. Mr. Hunter, and the Right Honble. Fred. von Walden, Captn. in the Swedish Navy, introduced by Mr. Richd. Sodarstroin [1] came here to Dinner, and returned to Alexandria afterwards. In the Evening a Mr. Tarti,[2] introduced by a letter from John Lowry of Back River, came in to request my sentiments respecting some Entrys they, in Partnership, had made in the Great Dismal Swamp, which I gave unreservedly, that they had no right to.

One of the Hound Bitches wch. was sent to me from France brought forth 15 puppies this day; 7 of which (the rest being as many as I thought she could rear) I had drowned.

Run round the ground which I designed for a Paddock for Deer [3] and find it contains 18 A. 3 R. 20 P.

Began again to Smooth the Face of the Lawn, or Bolling Green, on the West front of my House — what I had done before the Rains proving abortive.

OCTOBER

Saturday, first. Began to raise a Scaffold for Shingling the Front side of my House, next the Court yard.

Rid to my River, Muddy hole, and Dogue Run Plantations.

[1] Soderstrom was the Swedish consul at Boston. His letter, dated September 12, 1785, is in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[2] Lowry's letter, which omits the Christian name, spells it Tarte.

[3] On the east slope of Mount Vernon between the Mansion House and the river.

Doctr. Stuart came in whilst we were at Dinner and stayed all Night.

Sunday, 2d. Went with Fanny Bassett, Burwell Bassett, Doctr. Stuart, G. A. Washington, Mr. Shaw and Nelly Custis to Pohick Church; to hear a Mr. Thompson preach, who returned home with us to Dinner, where I found the Revd. Mr. Jones,[1] formerly a Chaplin in one of the Pennsylvania Regiments.

After we were in Bed (about eleven Oclock in the Evening) Mr. Houdon,[2] sent from Paris by Doctr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson to take my Bust, in behalf of the State of Virginia, with three young men assistants, introduced by a Mr. Perin a French Gentlemen of Alexandria, arrived here by Water from the latter place.

Monday, 3d. The two Reverend Gentlemen who dind and lodged here, went away after breakfast.

Wednesday, 5th. Stripped the Shingles of the South side of the Pediment of the West front of the House, in expectation of Mr. Sander's coming to direct the shingling of it, but he never appeared.

Colo. Ramsay introducing a Mr. McComb, and a Mr. Lowry dined here and went away afterwards.

Mr. Perin went from this after Breakfast.

Thursday, 6th. Mr. Burwell Bassett and Mr. Shaw set out after Breakfast for Dumfries.

The appearance of the day, and the impracticability of

[1] David Jones, chaplain of the Third and the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiments, and also of the Pennsylvania Brigade.

[2] Jean Antoine Houdon, an Academician and in the front rank of French sculptors. The bust of Washington which he modeled is generally considered the best representation we have. The completed full-length statue is now in the State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia.

giving on acct. of the clammyness of the Earth, an even face to any more of my lawn, until the grd. should get dryer, of which there is no immediate prospect; I sowed what was levelled and smoothed of it, with English grass Seeds; and as soon as the top was so dry as not to stick to the Roller, I rolled and cross rolled it; first with a light Wooden roller, and then with a heavy wooden roller with a view of compressing the Ground, smoothing the Surfice of it, and to bury the Seeds.

Mr. Sanders not coming according to Expectation I began with my own people to shingle that part of the Roof of the House wch. was stripped yesterday; and to copper the Gutters, &ca.

Friday, 7*th.* Sat to day as I had done yesterday, for Mr. Houdon to form my Bust.

Mrs. Jenifer, wife of Doctr. Walter Jenifer, dined here, and returned afterwards; and Doctr. Craik came here in the afternoon, and stayed all Night.

Mr. Shaw and Mr. Bassett returned from Dumfries about Noon, and Doctr. Brown came in the afternoon to visit a sick Servant of the Mr. Bassetts, and returned.

Finished trenching my Lawn, the spading of which had recd. several Interruptions by odd Jobs intervening. The ground getting a little drier, I began again to level and smooth it.

Plowed up a Cow pen in order to sow the ground with orchard Grass seeds.

Saturday, 8*th.* Sowed the ground which was plowed yesterday, and which might amount to about a quarter of an Acre, with near half a Bushel of the orchard Grass Seeds; which was neither very clean nor I fear not very good.

Also sowed with English Grass Seeds, as much more of

the Lawn as I could get levelled and smoothed, and rolled it in the same manner as that on Thursday last was done.

Sunday, 9th. Accompanied by Mr. Houdon and the two Mr. Bassetts, attended the Funeral of Mrs. Manley [1] at the Plantation of Mr. Willm. Triplett, and returned to Dinner.

Monday, 10th. A Mr. Jno. Lowe, on his way to Bishop Seabury [2] for Ordination, called and dined here. Could not give him more than a general certificate founded on information, respecting his character; having no acquaintance with him, nor any desire to open a Correspondence with the *new* ordained Bishop.

Observed the process for preparing the Plaister of Paris, and mixing of it, according to Mr. Houdon. The Oven being made hotter than it is usually heated for Bread, the Plaister which had been previously broken into lumps, that which was hard, to about the size of a pullets egg; and that which was soft, and could be broken with the hands, larger; was put in about Noon and remained until Night; when, upon examination, it was further continued until the Morning without any renewal of the heat in the oven, which was close stopped. Having been sufficiently calcined by this operation, it was pulverized (in an Iron Mortar) and sifted for use through a fine lawn sieve, and kept from wet.

When used, it is put into a Bason, or other vessel with water; sifted through the fingers, till the Water is made as thick as Loblolly, or very thick cream. As soon as the plaister is thus put into the Water, it is beat with an Iron spoon (almost flat) until it is well mixed, and must be immediately applied to the purpose for which it is intended

[1] Widow of the late Harrison Manley. William Triplett was executor of Harrison Manley's estate.

[2] Bishop Samuel Seabury (1729–96), the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Connecticut.

with a Brush, or whatever else best answers, as it begins to turn hard in four or five minutes, and in seven or ten cannot be used, and is fit for no purpose afterwards, as it will not bear wetting a second time. For this reason no more must be mixed at a time than can be used within the space just mentioned.

The brush (common painters) must be put into Water as soon as it is used, and the plaister well squeezed out, or this also becomes very hard. In this case to clean it, it must be beaten till the plaister is reduced to a powder, and then washed.

Tuesday, 11*th*. Sowed more English grass Seed on all the ground that had been levelled and smoothed on the Lawn.

Began the foundation of the House at the Southwest Corner of the South Garden.

Mr. Dulany, Mr. Sanderson and Mr. Potts dined here and returned afterwards to Alexanda.

After dark it began to rain and continued to do so fast, more or less, all Night, which appeared to have washed all the Seeds (at least all the Chaff with its contents) which had been just sowed from the ground, and carried it to the lowest parts of it.

Wednesday, 12*th*. The Rain which fell last Night had made the ground so wet that I could neither level, or in any manner work it. I was obliged, therefore, to employ the labourers thereon in other Jobs.

Mr. Livingston (son of Peter Vanbrugh Livingston[1] of New York) came to Dinner and stayed all Night; and in the Evening Mr. Madison arrived.

Thursday, 13*th*. Mr. Livingston, notwithstanding the

[1] Peter Van Brugh Livingston (1710–92), a merchant and partner of William Alexander, called Lord Stirling, in the shipping business. He was President of the First Provincial Congress of New York.

Rain, returned to Alexandria after dinner. A Suspension of all out doors work.

Friday, 14*th*. Mr. Madison went away after Breakfast. My Chariot which went up for, brought down Miss Sally Ramsay[1] and Miss Kitty Washington,[2] to be Bridesmaids to morrow at the Wedding of Miss Bassett.

Mr. George Washington, and Mr. Burwell Bassett went to the Clerk's Office, and thence to Colo. Mason's for a license, and returned to Dinner having accomplished their business.

The ground being too wet, I employed the labourers who had been levelling the Lawn, in cleaning and weeding the Shrubberies.

Saturday, 15*th*. The Reverend Mr. Grayson,[3] and Doctr. Griffith; Lund Washington and his Wife and Miss Steuart came to Dinner — all of whom remained the Evening, except L. W.

After the Candles were lighted George Auge. Washington and Frances Bassett [4] were married by Mr. Grayson.

[1] Sally, daughter of William Ramsay, of Alexandria.

[2] Probably Catherine, daughter of Warner Washington.

[3] Parson Spencer Grayson, son of Benjamin, a merchant of Dumfries. Spencer's brother William had been an aide to Washington and was later United States Senator.

[4] 'My nephew G. Aug: Washington is just returned from his peregrination, apparently much amended in his health but not *quite* free from the disorder in his breast. I have understood that his addresses to your Daughter were made with your consent; and I now learn that he is desirous, and she is willing to fulfill the engagement they have entered into; and that they are applying to you for permission therefore. — It has ever been a maxim with me thro' life, neither to promote nor to prevent a matrimonial connexion, unless there should be something indespensably requiring an interference in the latter; — I have always considered marriage as the most interesting event of one's life — the foundation of happiness or misery. — to be instrumental therefore in bringing two people together who are indifferent to each other, and may soon become objects of hatred — or to prevent a union which is prompted by mutual esteem and affection — is what I never could reconcile to my feelings, and therefore, neither directly nor indirectly have I ever said a syllable to Fanny or George

The ground continuing too wet to level, the labourers worked in the Shrubberies.

Put two thousand of the Common Chesnuts into a box with dry Sand — a layer of each — and two hundred of the Spanish Chesnut in like manner, to plant out in the Spring. These were put into Sand in a day or two after they were taken from the Trees.

Sunday, 16*th*. Mr. Grayson went away very early in the Morning, and Mr. Griffith, Mrs. Lund Washington and Miss Stuart after Dinner.

Monday, 17*th*. Set out to meet the Directors of the Potomack Navigation at George Town.[1] Where, having all assembled, we proceeded towards the Great Falls, and dispersing for the convenience of obtaining Quarters, Govr. Johnson and I went to Mr. Bryan Fairfax; Govr. Lee, Colo. Fitzgerald, Mr. Potts the Secretary, Mr. Rumsay the Manager, and Mr. Stuart the Assistant, went to a Mr. Wheeler's near the G. Falls. Colo. Gilpin, I should have said before, had proceeded on to prepare the way for levelling, &ca. at that place, in the morning.

Tuesday, 18*th*. After an early breakfast at Mr. Fairfax's, Govr. Johnson and I set out for the Falls (accompanied by Mr. Fairfax) where we met the other Directors and Colo. Gilpin in the operation of levelling the ground for the proposed cut or Canal from the place where it is proposed to take the Water out, to the other where it will be let into

upon the subject of their intended connexion; but as their attachment to each other seems to have been early formed, warm and lasting, it bids fair to be happy: if therefore you have no objection, I think the sooner it is consummated the better. — I have just now informed them (the former thro' Mrs. Washington) that it is my wish they should live here.' (Washington to Burwell Bassett, 1785, May 23d.)

[1] 'By Ferriages at Geo: town 1*s* 3*d*. By Dinner at Do. 2*s*. By a Guide to the Falls 6*s*.' (*Cash Account*.)

the River again. In the highest of which, and for near 70 Rod, it is between five or seven feet higher than the Surface of the Water at the head. After which it descends, and for at least 300 yards at the lower end, rapidly. This cut, upon the whole, does not appear to be attended with more difficulty than was apprehended: for tho' the ground is higher than was expected, it appears from some experiments of sticking a spiked stake down in those parts, that there is two or 3 feet of soft Earth at Top, and the lower end of the Canal well calculated to receive locks to advantage; as also to dam the Water, to throw it back into the Canal and thereby reduce the digging; wch. may also be done at the head by loose stones being thrown into the River to a Rocky Island. The length of the Cut from the work of to day, is found to be about 2400 yards, a little more or less, upon exact measurement.

Took a view of the River from the Spout or Cateract to the proposed entrance of the Canal below, to see if I could discover (as some supposed there was) the advantage of a Canal on the Maryland side, in preference to one on this, but saw no likely appearances of it. About 400 yds. below the Cateract, there is a Cove, into which emptys a small part of the River thro deep and steep Rocks on both sides, which is a good defence to it; and some little distance below this again, is another Cove; but how a Canal was to be brought thither I could not (having the River between) discover. However at, and below both, is rapid water, one little, if any, inferior to the Spout at Shannondoah.

Having taken a rough level of the proposed cut, formed general ideas for the Canal, determined to go on with it this Winter, as soon as our operations on the Water, on acct. of the Season must cease, and come to some resolutions respecting the hireg. of Negros, we broke up, after dark and I returned to Mr. Fairfax's.

Wednesday, 19*th*. Immediately after breakfast I set out for my return home, at which I arrived a little after Noon. And found my Brother Jno. his Wife, Daughter Milly and Sons, Bushrod and Corbin, and the Wife of the first, Mr. Willm. Washington [1] and his Wife and 4 Children, and Colo. Blackburn, to whom was added in the Evening Mr. Willm. Craik.

Mr. Houdon having finished the business which brot. him hither, went up on Monday with his People, work, and impliments in my Barge, to Alexandria, to take a Passage in the Stage for Philadelphia the next Morning.

Sowed (after making good the vacancies of the former) about a pint of the Cape of Good Hope Wheat, sent me by Mr. Powell [2] of Philadelphia, in 14 rows, along side of the other in the enclosure behind the Stables.

Also sowed about a tablespoonful of the Buffaloe or Kentucke Clover sent me by Doctr. Stuart along side of the Guinea grass at the foot of the above Wheat and continuance of the rows thereof.

Thursday, 20*th*. George Washington and his wife, Bushrod Washington, his Wife, Sister and Brother, the two Mr. Bassetts, Mr. Craik and Mr. Shaw, notwithstanding the Weather set out for the Races at Alexandria, and were disappointed of seeing them, as they were put off. They did not return.

Friday, 21*st*. My Brother, Mr. Willm. Washington and his Wife went up with me to this days Races at Alexandria. We dined at Colo. Ramsay's and returned in the Evening with the company who went from here the day before,

[1] William Washington, son of Augustine, the half-brother of George. He married Jane Washington.

[2] Samuel Powell, at one time Mayor of Philadelphia; he was a member of the American Philosophical Society and a founder of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture.

except Mr. Wm. Washington, the two Mr. Bassetts and Mr. Shaw.

Saturday, 22*d*. Went up again to day, with my Brother and the rest of the Gentlemen to the Races and dined at Mr. Herbert's. All returned, except Mr. Jno. Bassett, who got hurt in the race field, and Mr. Shaw. Mr. Willm. Scott came here in the Evening, from Alexandria.

Sunday, 23*d*. My Brother, his Wife, Daughter and Son; Mr. Willm. Washington his Wife and 4 Children; Mr. Bushrod Washington and Wife; and Mr. Scott, all went away after Breakfast. Mr. Jno. Bassett and Mr. Shaw came home in the forenoon, and Mr. Fitzhugh[1] of Chatham, Genl. Spotswood,[2] Mr. McCarty[3] of Pipe Creek, and a Colo. Middleton[4] of South Carolina, came here to dinner, and went away afterwards.

Perceived the Orchard Grass Seeds which I sowed on the 8th Inst. in the same Inclosure of the Turneps, to be coming up thick and well.

Monday, 24*th*. The two Mr. Bassetts (Burwell and John) left this after breakfast, to return home.

In the Afternoon Doctr. Craik came in, and stayed all Night.

I rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue Run, and Muddy hole. Found the Orchard grass Seeds, which had been sowed at Dogue run, come up very well, as the Timothy also had; and that my Corn fields, now that the

[1] William Fitzhugh. 'Chatham' was across the Rappahannock from Fredericksburg. Fitzhugh advertised it for sale in the Philadelphia papers in 1796.

[2] Alexander Spotswood, of Nottingham, married Eliza, the daughter of William Augustine Washington, and niece of George Washington.

[3] Montgomery County, Maryland.

[4] Arthur Middleton, South Carolina delegate to the Continental Congress and Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

fodder was taken off, looked miserably bad. The Wheat on the other hand very good.

Tuesday, 25*th*. Doctr. Craik went away before Breakfast. He intended to Alexa. but was to call upon John Alton.

Rid to my Plantation in the Neck. Found my Corn and Wheat there similar with those at the other plantations as described yesterday.

Finding the Seeds of the Honey locust had come nearly, or quite to a state of Maturity, although the thick part of the pod still retained its green colour, I had them gathered, lest when ripe they should be gathered by others, to eat.

Wednesday, 26*th*. Took the cover of my dry Well, to see if I could not fix it better for the purpose of an Ice House, by Arching the Top, and planking the sides.

Having received by the last Northern Mail advice [1] of the arrival at Boston, of one of the Jack Asses presented to me by His Catholic Majesty,[2] I sent my Overseer John Fairfax,[3] to conduct him, and his Keeper, a Spaniard, home safe; addressing him to Lieutt. Governor Cushing, from whom I received the information.

Sent to Morris (Overseer of my Dogue run Plantation)

[1] From Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Cushing (1725–88), who had been a member of the First and Second Continental Congresses and marked out, by the British, along with John Hancock and others, for arrest and transporting to England at the outbreak of the Revolution.

[2] King of Spain. Washington was desirous of introducing a good breed of jackasses into America and had made inquiry to that end. The Spanish law forbade the exportation of any blooded jack, and when the King learned of Washington's wishes (the result of the inquiry as to how to obtain a jack), he ordered that two of the best breed be sent to Washington, as a gift.

[3] Oct. 25. 'By John Fairfax for his Exps. to Boston to be accd. for £28.' (*Cash Account.*) Fairfax accomplished his mission and returned to Washington the unexpended sum of £2. 8*s*. 1*d*. The carefully drawn instructions (October 26, 1785) for his guidance fill three folio pages, in Washington's Letter-Book. On this same date Washington wrote to Cushing: 'As the Jack is now safely landed and I am unwilling to hazard him again at Sea, I have sent a man, in whom I can confide to conduct him and the Spaniard to this place by land.' The Spaniard's name was Pedro Tellez.

a Bushel of clover seed (reserving six pounds) to sow as fast as he could get the ground which is intended for the reception of it, in order.

Yesterday I transplanted a Carnation Cherry tree, and Apricot tree, which were within the Lawn before the door into the North Garden, little expecting that either will live, the first being 33 Inches in circumference and the latter 21 inches and a good deal decayed.

Finished the Shingling on the West front of the House.

Thursday, 27*th*. Mr. Battaile Muse[1] came here before dinner but would not stay to it. After finishing some business with me respecting my Tenants, and my agreeing to allow him Six pr. Ct. for Collecting my Rents, he went up to Alexandria.

Purchased 1000 Bushels of Wheat of him, to be delivered as fast as he could have it brot. down, at my Mill, for which I am to give Six Shillings in March next, or when he comes here in April.

Began to put up my Hogs at the different Plantations, to fatten for Porke.

Friday, 28*th*. Finished levelling and Sowing the lawn in front of the Ho. intended for a Bolling Green — as far as the Garden Houses. Also began to sow clover seed at Dogue run Plantation.

Saturday, 29*th*. Rid to the Plantations at the Ferry and Dogue run, at the last of which finished sowing the Clover seed which I sent there the 26th. With this I mixed 9 Bushels of the pounded Plaister of Paris, and sowed the whole on about 4¼ Acres of Ground (on the side of the run

[1] Battaile Muse, of Berkeley County. He had acted as overseer at Mount Vernon and was succeeded by George Augustine Washington. He was a collector of Washington's rents in Frederick County from 1785, this date, until October, 1791, when he resigned in favor of Robert Lewis, Washington's nephew.

along the old Mill race) as near as I could judge from stepping it.

Sunk the inner Well in the Dry Well now fitting up for an Ice house, about 8 feet until I came to a pure sand.

Mrs. Stuart and Child Nancy, and Miss Allan, came here this Evening.

Sunday, 30th. Mr. Shaw went up to Alexandria after Breakfast, and stayed all Night.

Monday, 31st. Mr. Shaw returned to Breakfast, and Mrs. Stuart, Miss Allan, &ca. went away after it.

A Captn. Fullerton [1] came here to Dinner on business of the Society of the Cincinnati of Pensylvania; for whom I signed 250 Diplomas as President. Went away after.

Sent half a Bushel of Clean Timothy seed to Morris, to sow at Doeg run Plantation.

NOVEMBER

Tuesday, first. Rid to my Plantations at Dogue run and Muddy hole, at the former preparing and Sowing with Timothy Seed.

Mrs. Fendall, Mrs. Lee and Miss Flora Lee, daughter of the former, with Doctr. Skinner,[2] came here to Dinner, and stayed all Night.

A Mr. Sacket from Tygers Valley on the Monongahela, and another person came here before Dinner and shewed me some propositions they had to make to Congress for a large territory of Country West of the Ohio, which I discouraged them from offering, as I was sure they never would be acceded to by that body.

[1] Richard Fullerton. He was brevet captain in the First Pennsylvania Regiment and Assistant Adjutant-General of the Southern Army.

[2] Dr. Alexander (?) Skinner, of Richmond, Virginia.

Wednesday, 2*d*. Perceived the Wheat from the Cape, which had been sent to me by Mr. Powell of Philada. and which I sowed on the 19th of last March had come up very well.

The Guinea Grass in my Botanical Garden was as much injured by the frosts which we have had, and the colour of the blade as much changed, as those of Indian Corn would have been from the same cause.

Could perceive none of the Guinea Grass up which I sowed in the Inclosure behind the Stable (old Vinyard) on the 1st day of Septr.

Thursday, 3*d*. Borrowed a Scow from Colo. Gilpin, with which to raise Mud from the Bed of the River or Creek, to try the efficacy of it as a Manure, and sent it to the River Plantation for that purpose. Sent over there myself to mark off a piece of ground to spread it on, after it should get mellowed by the frosts of the Winter.

Mrs. Fendal, Mrs. and Miss Lee, and Doctr. Skinner went away, breakfasting first.

Took up 11 Pines of a large size and planted them in the green briar hedge and circle at the extremity of the Lawn within the Gate.

Friday, 4*th*. Raised the heavy frame in my [Ice] House to day, and planted 16 Pines in the avenues on my Serpentine Walks.

Rid to my Dogue Run Plantation, where they were still preparing ground for, and sowing of Timothy seed. Went from thence to Mr. Lund Washington's on a visit to Mr. Robt. Washington[1] who was gone up to Alexandria. Returned home by the way of Muddy hole.

[1] Robert Washington, of Chotank. Washington in his will left him one of his gold-headed canes.

In the Evening a Mr. Jno. Fitch [1] came in, to propose a draft and model of a Machine for promoting Navigation, by means of a steam[boat].

Saturday, 5th. Went over the Creek to see how my people went on in raising mud from the bed of the Creek; their progress but slow.

Mr. Robert Washington of Chotanck, Mr. Lund Washington and Mr. Lawrence Washington dined here, as did Colo. Gilpin and Mr. Noah Webster. The 4 first went away afterwards, the last stayed all Night. In the afternoon a Mr. Lee came here to sollicit Charity [2] for his Mother who represented herself as having nine Children, a bad husband, and no support. He also stayed the Evening.

Sunday, 6th. Mr. Webster and Mr. Lee went away after breakfast.

Mr. Geo. Washington and wife went to Church at Alexandria, as did Mr. Shaw. The two first returned to dinner, the other not till some time in the night, after the family were in bed.

Altho it was omitted in the occurrences of Yesterday, I tried 2 quarts of the pulverized plaister of Paris; one of them burned, the other unburnt; upon two sections of the circle in front of the House, from the Deal Post to the

[1] John Fitch, inventor of the steamboat, was born in Connecticut and died in Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1798. He was a watchmaker by trade and a gunsmith for the Continental Army in the early part of the Revolutionary War. He was with the army at Valley Forge. He seems to have had his first idea of steam propulsion of boats in April, 1785. His first model made use of side paddle wheels, but the wheels were discarded for paddles in 1786. Fitch successfully demonstrated this boat on the Delaware in 1787 before the members of the Constitutional Convention. His boat of the year 1790 ran successfully for the entire summer of that year, as a passenger steamer, on the Delaware, between Philadelphia and Burlington, maintaining a speed of eight miles an hour. In 1796, Fitch experimented, with some success, with a screw propeller.

[2] 'By Charity £2 8*s.* 0*d.*' (*Cash Account.*)

center post opposite to the pavemt. leading to the Gate by the Quarter. The section nearest the House was sprinkled with the burned Plaister. These sections are only from one Post to another in the circle, and do not contain more than about 145 square ft. a quart therefore on each is at the rate of 8 Bushels to the Acre. This was the poorest part of the Circle.

Monday, *7th.* Mrs. Peake and Miss England dined here and returned in the Evening.

Employed since I first began to supply the dead Trees in the Serpentine Walks which I compleated this day, except with the lime (or linden) and horse chesnut, neither of wch. I have or could easily get at.

The numbers replanted are as follow: Of Pine 19, Of Elm 2, Of Poplar 18, Of the black gum 17, Of the Aspan 2, of the Mulberry 5, Ash 2, and of the Maple none.

Tuesday, *8th.* Rid to Dogue run and Muddy hole Plantations, the first preparing Ground, and sowing Timothy Seed.

Began to replace the dead trees in my Shrubberies.

Doctr. Craik first, and a Captn. Lewis Littlepage [1] afterwards, came here to Dinner; the first went away after it, the other stayed all night.

This Captn. Littlepage has been Aid de Camp to the Duke de Crillen,[2] was at the Sieges of Fort St. Phillip (on the Island of Minorca) and Gibralter; and is an extraordinary character.

[1] Lewis Littlepage (1762–1802), son of James Littlepage, of New Kent, and Betty Lewis (whence the Christian name). Captain Littlepage is buried in the Masonic cemetery at Fredericksburg. (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII, 445.) His European adventures are sketched in *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*.

[2] Louis de Berton des Balbes de Quiers, Duc de Crillon-Mahon, a French general who entered the Spanish service after the Seven Years War. He became Captain-General of Spain.

In the Evening Doctr. Griffith came and stayed all Night.

Wednesday, 9*th.* Mr. Griffith went away after Breakfast and Captn. Littlepage after Dinner.

Having put in the heavy frame into my Ice House, I began this day to seal it with Boards, and to ram straw between these boards and the Wall. All imaginable pains was taken to prevent the straw from getting wet, or even damp, but the moisture in the air is very unfavourable.

Thursday, 10*th.* There having fallen so much rain in the Night as to convince me that the Straw which I had placed between the cieling and the wall of my Ice House, must have got wet, and being in some doubt before of the propriety of the measure, lest it should get damp, heat, and rot; I had it all taken out, leaving the Space between unfilled with any thing.

Went up to Alexandria to meet the Directors of the Potomack Company. Dined at Mr. Fendall's (who was from home) and returned in the Evening with Mrs. Washington. Mr. George Washington and his Wife who accompanied us remaining to a Ball.

Planted 8 of the Hemlock Pine which were brought from Neabsco in my Shrubberies — more still wanting to make up the deficiences.

Friday, 11*th.* Sent my Carriage up for and brought George Washington and his Wife down after dinner.

Saturday, 12*th.* Received 215 Apple trees (red strick) from Major Jenifer; wch. I sent to the river plantation in the Neck, to be planted. At the same time, and from the

same place, received two New Town and 2 Golden Pippin trees, two of the Bury, and two St. Germain Pear Trees, and 2 duke Cherry Trees.

Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue Run and Muddy hole; at the second of which they were yet preparing ground, and sowing grass-seeds; at the last gathering Corn.

Covered my exotic plants in that section of my Botanical Garden between the Salt House and the House next the Circle; and began to cover the Guinea grass, which two days before I had cut of near the Crown, but did not finish it.

Sunday, 13*th*. Mr. Saml. Hanson and his wife, Mr. Thos. Hanson and their two sisters, and Mrs. Dulany wife to Waltr. Dulany, lately from England, came to Dinner, and stayed all Night.

Monday, 14*th*. The Company who came to dinr. yesterday, and lodged here last Night, went away after breakfast. Upon which I went to my Neck Plantation in the Neck with intention to take a descriptive list of my Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Working Tools, etca., but the forenoon being far spent I could only do it of the Horses and Tools.

Began to Plant the Apple Trees which were brought from Major Jenifer's on Saturday.

Finished covering the Guinea grass in my Botanical Garden except 6 Rows of it which I left uncovered, and uncut, to try the effect of the Winters frost and Snows upon it.

In the Evening Mr. Willm. Craik returned from his trip over the Alligany Mountains, having effected no business for his father or me, being disappointed of seeing those with whom he had it to transact.

Tuesday, 15*th*. Went to my Neck Plantation and compleated the Acct. of my Stock there, except that of the Hogs, which stand thus:

Horses

A grey dray Stallion			1
Buck a Sorrel,	16 yr. old		
Gilbert a black,	17 Do.		
Randolph a Grey,	7 Do.		
Doctr. a Grey	7 Do.		
Prentice a Bay	10 Do.		
Jolly a Black	9 Do.		Working Horses
Dick a White	12 Do.		
Grunt a Bay	9 Do.		
Pompey a Bay	14 Do.		
Diamond White	9 Do.		
Possum Grey	10 Do.		
Jack Black	10 Do.		12
Carried over			13
Kit — a black Mare 5 yrs.			
Fly Dark brown			
Patience			
Betty White Stockg	9 Do.		
Punch grey flea bittn.			Working Mares
Jenny light grey	9 Do.		
Brown	11 Do.		
Fanny Black	9 Do.		
Overseer Black			9
A brown Horse		5	
Bright Bay rising		3	
Black Do		3	
Brown Mealy Co'd.	Do.	3	
Black	Do.	3	Unbroke Horses
Black Small	Do.	3	
Ditto	Do.	2	
Iron Grey	Do.	2	
Black bald face	Do.	2	9
A Grey Spring Colt			1

Dark bay	9		
Sorrel	5		
Brown	6		
Black — rising	3	} Unbroke Mares	
Dark brown	3		
Grey	3		
Black rising	2	7	
Black Spring Colt		1	
In all		40	

Cattle Bulls y'g			3
Working Oxen			7
Fatting Steers in Corn field			5
Cows			41
Heifers.....	6 yrs old	6	
	3 yrs old	15	
	2 yrs old	11	
	1 yr old	7	
Spring — Cow Calves		19	58
Steers.....	full grown	18	
	4 yrs old	2	
	3 yrs old	4	
	2 yrs old	7	
	1 yr old	3	
Spring Bull calves		11	45
			159
Cows brot. to the Home for Milk and to go back			8
Total Cattle			167

Sheep

Rams	7
Ewes	92
Weathers	12
Ditto in Corn field	16
	127
Weathers brot. to Ho. Ho.	42
	169

Tools and Implemts.

A Waggon Saddle and Gier for 4 Horses		1	
An Oxe Cart — good	1		
Ditto not good	1	2	
Oxe Chains		2	
Belts for Tongues		2	
Yokes, Rings &ca.			
Bar Shear Plows		9	
Two pr. Iron traces to each		18	
Old Bridles for ditto		18	
N.B. These Traces serve the Waggon			
Hilling Hoes helved		20	
unhelved pretty g.		3	
indifferent		2	
At the Smiths Shop		2	27
Mattocks but indifft.		6	
Ditto said to have come to the Home Ho.		7	13
Grubbing Hoes indifft.			3
Axes	7		
Ditto at Smiths Shop	1		
Ditto old Iron	1		9
Iron Wedges — pairs			3
Open Iron Wire Sieve	1		
Sand Sieve	1		2
Note these to be sent to the Home Ho.			
Harvest Rakes 5 only gd.			13
Pitch forks			1
Half Bushels — new	1		
Old — Do.	1		2
Plantation Gun			1

Wednesday, 16*th*. Finished the Arch over my Ice House to day.

Went early in the Morning to take an acct of my Stocks, etca. at Dogue Run and Muddy hole Plantns.

At the first

Horses

		height	age		
Dabster	a grey	14¼	8		
Buck	Bay	14	6	Workers	2
Nancy	Bay	14	old		
From Camp	Ditto	14¼			
Fly	Ditto	13	8		
Brandy	Ditto	13½			
Fancy	Black	13	old		
——	Sorrel	13	old		
——	Ditto	13			
Bonny	Bay very old		—		8
Englh. Hunter	Brown	15	old		
Grey mare bot. at Bristol			Do.		
Dray	Black Camp		Do.		3
Bay likely in foal		14	6		
Bay Roan	white face	14	5		
Sorrel		14½			
Black Snip on ye Nose		13			
Iron grey — dark		14	3		
Black from Huster			2		
Black Star and snip likely			2		
Bay — white face			1		
Black — long star			1		
Bay	near hind foot wh		1		
Bay — small star			1		
Bay (blood near hind f. We			1		
Bay — star and snip			1		13
A Grey	Snip	14	3		
Bay Roan — wh. face			1		
Sorrel	Snip		1		
Dark Grey			1		
Grey Colt frm. Bristl. M. Sps.					
It is not certain whether these are horses or Mares not having distinguished them on the Spot at the time			—		5
			In all		31

Cattle

Working Oxen			7
Fatting Steers in Meadow			2
Cows			15
Heifers	4 yrs. old	5	
	3 yrs. old	3	
	2 yrs old	6	
	1 yr old	2	
Spring Calves		6	22
Steers	full grown	7	
	3 years old	1	
	2 yrs. old	2	
	1 yr. old	7	
Spring Calves		5	22
Bulls			1
	Total		69

Sheep

Rams		7
Ewes		32
Weathers	7	
Do. in Meadow fatg	7	14
	Total	53
Old Cows in ye Mead		2

N. B. The Tools not being got up no acct. was taken of them at this time.

MUDDY HOLE PLANTATION

Horses

	height	age	
Jockey — a black	13½	14	
Diamond — Ditto	14	10	2
Rankins	14	10	
Fly — a Grey	14¼	8	
Jenny — Brown	13¼	8	
Fenwick — Dun Sorrel	13½	7	
Fancy — Grey	13¼	9	5

	height	age	
White	13 ..	7	
Bay — Small Star &ca	13 ..	5	
Bay — long blaze	13 ..	5	
Bay — very small Star	13 ..	5	
Dark Bay sml. Star and Snp	13 ..		
Dark Brown — Simpson	13½ ..	3	
Bay — midlg. likely		1	
Bay — Small Star Spring			
Black — sml. Star Spring		–	9
Brown Boy — crooked blaze 13 hands high		5 yrs. old	
Grey unlikely		2	
Bay — sml Star unlikely			
Grey — natural pacer — spg			4
		Total	20

Cattle

Working Oxen			4
Cows			10
Heifers	1 yr. old		1
Cow Calves	this Spring		1
Steers — full grown	8		
2 years old	2		
1 year old	1		11
Male Calves			4
		Total	31

Sheep

Rams	5
Ewes	39
Lambs	11
Total	50

Tools and Implements

A good Oxe Cart — 2 Oxe yokes & Iron Rings — Compleat	1
Oxe Chain	1
Bar shear plows	3

Iron Traces — pairs	6
Haims. Collars, Bridles &ca. Compt.	
2 spare colters	2
Mattoxs	5
Axes — includg. 1 at the Home Ho	4
Iron Wedges — pairs	1
Hilling Hoes	11
Pitch fork	1
A Wheat Fan	1
Half Bushel	1

The Hogs at all the Plantations running in the woods after the most, no acct. could be taken of them.

Richard Henry Lee, lately President of Congress; his son Ludwell, Colo. Fitzgerald, and a Mr. Hunter [1] (Mercht.) of London came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

The Stock not being got up, postponed taking the Acct. of them until they shd. be got together.

Thursday, 17*th*. Colo. Lee and all the Company went away after Breakfast.

Mr. Shaw went up to the Assembly in the Afternoon at Alexanda.

Friday, 18*th*. Began to take up a number of small Pines to replace the dead ones in my Wildernesses. Got them with much dirt about the Roots.

Took an account of the Horses, Cattle, and Sheep at Home, viz.

[1] John Hunter has left us a picture of Washington. An extract from his diary was published in the *West Virginia Historical Magazine* (vol. 1, no. 1, p. 60): 'The General is about six feet high, perfectly straight and well made; rather inclined to be lusty. His eyes are full and blue and seem to express an air of gravity. His nose inclines to an aquiline; his mouth is small, his teeth are yet good and his cheeks indicate perfect health. His forehead is a noble one and he wears his hair turned back, without curls and quite in the officers style and tyed in a long queue behind.... When I was first introduced to him he was neatly dressed in a plain blue coat, white cassimer waistcoat and black breeches and boots, as he came from his farm ... the General came in again, with his hair neatly powdered, a clean shirt on, new plain drab coat, white waistcoat and white silk stockings.'

Horses

Magnolia — an Arabian			1
Nelson — Riding Horse		1	
Blewskin — Ditto		1	2[1]
	Height	Age	
Partner — A Bay	15	12	
Ajax — lightr. Bay	15	11	
Chatham — dull Bay	15	8	
Valiant Yellow'h Bay	14¾	16	
English Bay	15	very old	
McIntosh — Bay	14½	9	
Careless — Bay	14½	5	
Young — Bay			8
Dragon — Black	15	6	
Jolly — Ditto	15	14	
Chichester — Bay	14½		
Jock — Grey	14¼	5	4
Black — Mare dray	15	old	
Black Horse — Ditto	14	old	
used in Tumblers			2
A Brown Bay	14	6	
Chevalier — dull bay	14½		
Brown Bay — Muddy hole			
Columbus — br. Do.	14		4
		Total	21

Cattle

Working Oxen — old	2	
Ditto — Do. Young	2	4
Cows from Camp	4	
Rivr. Plantn.	8	
Dogue run Do.	6	
Ferry Do.	3	21
Bull		1
	In all	26

Note. One of the Cows that came from the River Plantn.

[1] These two horses, Nelson and Blueskin, had been ridden by Washington during the greater part of the Revolutionary War and were kept in the Mansion House pasture as honorable pensioners.

(making the above 9) got mired this Fall and died, and of the above, the 4 Cows from Camp, two from the Ferry, three from Dogue run, and one from the Neck are ordered to be detained here, and all the rest to be sent to their respective places.

Sheep

Weathers	40
Ewes — Sucking Lambs	4
Lambs — for killing	4
	48

Began to take up my Summer Turnips at the House. Got abt. half up to day.

Sent to Mr. Digges for Papaw Bushes to replace the dead ones in my Shrubberies. Coming late I had not time to plant them, but put the Roots in the ground until tomorrow.

Planted the two duke Cherries — sent me by Major Jenifer — in the two gardens, one under each Wall, abt. 30 feet from the Garden Houses; and planted the Bury and 2 St. Germain Pairs also sent me by him in the No. Garden, now part thereof, one of each kind on the circular walk, and the other two on the strait walk.

Put the Box with the Magnolia, and other exotics from So. Carolina, and that with the Kentucke Coffee tree, under a bush cover in the open part of the Green Ho., and began to cover the Palmetto Royal at the Front gate with Brush with the leaf on, but got a small part only South of the gate and south part thereof done before night.

Saturday, 19th. Finished digging my Summer Turnips and putting them in a Cellar.

Also finished covering the Palmetto royal at the front gate, except a small piece on the south side, nearest the gate, for which brush could not be got in time.

My Ice House Walls, except the Pediment over the outer door and the inner Walls of the arch, were compleated this day likewise.

Doctr. Craik, whom I had sent for to visit York George (in the Neck) who is much afflicted with the gravel, came here about sundown and stayed all Night.

Sunday, 20*th*. George Washington and Wife and Mr. Shaw went to Lund Washington's to Dinner and returned in the afternoon.

Colo. Harrison (Judge) came here to Dinner, and Doctr. Craik (who went away early this Morning) at Night.

My Nephew Lawe. Washington came here with a letter to day from Mr. Bayley [1] respecting their Board, etca.

Monday, 21*st*. Colo. Harrison and Doctr. Craik left this after Breakfast, and I went up to Alexandria with G. Washington to meet the Directors of the Potomack Coma. and to a Turtle feast (the Turtle given by myself to the Gentlemen of Alexa.) Returned in the Evening and found the Count Doradour, recommended by, and related to the Marqs. de la Fayette here, as also the Revd. Mr. Magowan.

Tuesday, 22*d*. The Count Doradour and Mr. Magowan went away after Breakfast.

The Reverd. Mr. Keith [2] of Alexandria and a Mr. Bowie of Philadelphia came to Dinner and returned to Alexandria in the Evening.

Gave my People their Cloathing pr. list taken.

Removing Earth to day, as yesterday, to cover my Ice Ho.

Wednesday, 23*d*. Finished all the Brick work of my Ice House to day.

Miss Kitty Washington, Genl. Lincoln, Colonels Hooe

[1] William Bailey, or Bayley, a Georgetown merchant.

[2] The Reverend James Keith (a different person, apparently, from Major James Keith, of the Potomac Company).

and Lyles, Mr. Porter, Captn. Goodwin, Doctr. Swift,[1] Mr. Potts, Mr. Dalby, Mr. Monshur, Mr. Williams, Mr. Philips and a Mr. Cramer or Cranmur, came here to Dinner, and all of them returned in the Evening except Kitty Washington.

Sent Mr. Shaw through Alexandria, to agree for the Schooling and Board of My Nephews George Steptoe and Lawrence Washington now at the Academy at George Town, and thence to the latter place to conduct them to the former for the purpose of going to School at the Alexandria Academy.[2]

Thursday, 24th. Immediately after Breakfast, rid to my Plantation at the Ferry and took the following Acct. of my stock, viz.

Horses

	hands	age	
Prince a black Horse	14	20	
Ditto — a sorrel — Do.	14¼	old..	2
Jenny — bla. Mare.....	14¼	old	
Peggy — White Do.....	14	.. 10	
Fly — Dark Grey — Do.....	13½	.. 8	
Kitty — Small bay — Do.....	13	.. 15	
Bonny — Sorrel — Do.....	14	.. 10	
Nancy — black — Do.....	sml.	12..	6
A Black Mare — Steady, likely.	13½	.. 4	
A Sorrel Ditto, Leonidas. Do.....		1	
A bay — Do. very small — Spring.....			3
A bla. Horse — unlikely.....		4	
A small bay — Leonidas — likely.....		1	
A black bald face — Sprg.....		—	
		..	3
		Total....	14

[1] Dr. Foster (?) Swift, of Massachusetts.

[2] The Academy at Alexandria was established through the energies of Dr. William Brown. Washington was made one of the trustees. The Reverend Mr. McQuerr, a Presbyterian clergyman, was apparently one of the teachers.

Cattle

		age	
Darling — a red and W. Ox		6	
Bembo, White and red Do		9	
Mark — black and White Do		11	
Duke — red brindle — very old			4
Cows			14
Heifers	4 years old	1	
	3 yrs	2	
	2 yrs	2	
	Calves this Spg	5	10
Steers — full grown		2	
	4 years old	2	
	3 years old	5	
	2 years Do	3	
	1 year Do	1	
	Spring Calves	7	20
Bulls — 2 years old			1
Beeves in Corn field			2
		Total	51

Sheep

Rams	1
Ewes	9
Weathers	5
Total	15

Tools and Implements

A good Cart		
2 Yokes with Rings.		
A Cain		
Wheat Fans	1	
Wire riddles — course	4	
Sand sieves	1	
Courser size	1	6
Plows Bar shears		4
		447

Iron Traces — pairs..... 8
Haims, Cleves, Bridles —
&ca. compleat for them
Weeding Hoes..... 1
Hilling — Ditto..... 13
Grubbing — ditto..... 1
Mattocks..... 4
Axes..... 5
Iron Wedge..... 1½ pair

From the Ferry I went to the Plantation at Dogue Run and took the following account of the Tools there, — being omitted when I was there last, viz.

Oxe Carts..... 1
At the Ho. for repair..... 1.. 2
Oxe Yokes with rings..... 4
Oxe Chains..... 2
Wheat Fans..... 1
Riddles — viz.
1 open and tolerable good
1 Sand Sieve and much worn
Axes..... 9
Mattocks..... 6
Grubbing Hoes..... 6
Hilling — Ditto..... 16
Iron Wedges — pairs..... 4
Spades — good..... 1
Bar Shear Plows..... 4
Iron Traces..... 8
Haims, Cleves, Bridles
&ca. Complete....
Spare Colters..... 3
Adzes..... 1
Drawing knife..... 1
Handsaws..... 1
Froes..... 1
Broad Chissels..... 1
Narrow Do..... 1
Gouge..... 1
Auger — ¾ Inch..... 1

Recapitulation of all my Stocks of Horses, Cattle and Sheep

Horses

Stud Horse — Magnolia	1	
Ditto — Dray	1	2
Riding Horses		2
Chariot Horses		8
Hack Horses		4
Waggon Horses — Home Ho	4	
Cart — Ditto Do. Do.	1	5
Plow — Ditto — Plantns		18
Cart — Mare — Home Ho	1	
Plow — Ditto — Plantns	28	29
Broke Ditto not worked	5	
Unbroke Do. over 4 yrs. old	13	
Ditto 3 yrs	5	
Ditto 2 yrs	3	
Ditto 1	8	
Ditto Colts	5	68
Unbroke Horses — 4 H upwds	3	
Ditto — Ditto 3 yrs	6	
Ditto — Do 2 Ditto	4	
Ditto — Do. 1 Ditto	4	
Ditto — Do. Spring Colt	6	23
In all		130

Note. In the above acct; are included 2 English Mares and their Colts — the one a Horse, and the other a Mare — which by being at a Meadow had not been included in any one of the foregoing lists.

Of the above Mares 16 may go to Magnolia, and 33 to the Jack ass if he should arrive safe, and both of them be in order at the proper Season for covering.

Cattle

Bulls... aged	2	
2 yrs. old	2	
1 yr. old	2	6
Draught Oxen		26

Steers — full grown	35	
4 yrs. old	4	
3 yrs. old	10	
2 yrs. old	14	
1 yr. old	12	
Calves	27	102
Cows		101
Heifers — 6 yrs. old	6	
4 yrs. old	6	
3 yrs. Do.	20	
2 yrs. Do.	19	
1 yr. Do.	10	
Calves	31	92
		327
Beeves fatting		9
	In all	336

Sheep

Rams		19
Ewes		167
Lambs		15
Weathers	59	
Ditto — fatting	23	82
	In all	283

Friday, 25*th*. Set out after breakfast, accompanied by Mr. G. Washington, to make Mr. Mason at Colchester a visit, but hearing on the road that he had removed from thence, I turned into Gunston Hall where we dined and returned in the Evening, and found Colo. Henry Lee and his Lady here.

Mr. Shaw returned, having removed George and Lawe. Washington to the Alexandria Academy and fixed them at the Widow Dade's.

Saturday, 26*th*. Colo. Lee and his Lady went away after breakfast, crossing to Maryland on their way home.

Sunday, 27*th*. General Lincoln and Colo. Henley Dined here and returned in the afternoon.

Monday, 28*th*. Went with G. Washington to dine with Colo. Lyle's in Alexandria, returned in the evening.

Tuesday, 29*th*. Sent my Boat to Alexandria for a Hhd. of Common Rum and some articles brought from Boston for me by General Lincoln. Majr. G. Washington [1] went up to receive them.

Went out after Breakfast with my hounds from France, and two which were lent me, yesterday, by young Mr. Mason.[2] Found a Fox which was run tolerably well by two Frh. Bitches and one of Mason's Dogs. The other French Dogs showed little disposition to follow and, with the second Dog of Mason's, got upon another Fox which was followed slow and indifferently by some, and not at all by the rest, until the sent became so cold that it cd. not be followed at all.

Wednesday, 30*th*. On the Wheat which was given to me by Colo. Spaight from the Cape of Good Hope, and which having been sowed forward had become very forward — full half log high — and jointed, I determined to try an experiment, and accordingly on three Rows next the fencing on the East side the Inclosure I cut it within 4 Inches of the ground, just above the Crown of the plant from whence the Shutes had issued. The remainder I suffered to remain in its exhuberant state to try the difference.

DECEMBER

Thursday, 1*st*. Took the Hounds out before the Sun rise, and about 8 Oclock, after being upon several drags, or the

[1] George Augustine Washington had acted for a time as aide to the Marquis de Lafayette; his title of Major was derived from this service.

[2] George Mason, Jr.?

same drag several times, put up a Fox which the Dogs run very indifferently, being very much dispersed and often at Cold Hunting until about 12, or between that and one, when the scent had got so cold that they could follow it no longer. 3 or 4 of the French Hds. discovered no greater disposition for Hunting to day than they did on tuesday last.

Miss Kitty Washington went from this after Breakfast, to Alexandria, and Mr. Shaw who with G. Washington went out a Hunting with me, meeting her in the Road, accompanied her to that place.

In order to try the difference between burning Spermaciti and Tallow Candles I took one of each, the 1st weighing 3 oz. 10 p.w. 6 g., and the 2d 5 oz. 2 p.w., and lighted them at the same instant. The first burnt 8 hours and 21 Minutes; when, of the latter, their remained 14 pennyweight; which continued to burn one hour and a quarter longer, making in all 9 hours and 36 Minutes, By which it appears (as both burnt without flairing) that, estimating Spermaceti Candles at 3/ pr. lb., the former is dearer than the latter as 30 is to nearly 13, in other words more than 2¼ dearer.

Friday, 2d. Colo. and Mrs. MaCarty came here to Dinner, as did Colonels Fitzgerald and Gilpin, and Mr. Chas. Lee and Doctr. Baker.[1]

Saturday, 3rd. Employed all day at my writing Table on business of the Potomack Company. Brot. 2 Hounds frm. Colo. McCarty.

George Washington and Wife went up to Abingdon after Breakfast.

Doctr. Brown dined here and went away afterwards.

Finished covering my Ice House with dirt and sodding of it.

[1] Dr. Baker, dentist.

Sunday, 4th. Last Night Jno. Alton, an Overseer of mine in the Neck, an old and faithful Servant who had lived with me 30 odd years, died of an imposthume in his thigh after lingering for more than 4 Months with it, and being reduced to a mere skeleton; and this evening the Wife of Thos. Bishop, another old Servant who had lived with me an equal number of years, also died.

Monday, 5th. It being a good scenting morning I went out with the Hounds (carrying the two had from Colo. McCarty). Run at different two foxes but caught neither. My French Hounds performed better to day; and have offered hopes of their performing well, when they come to be a little more used to Hunting, and understand more fully the kind of game they are intended to run.

When I returned home, wch. was not until past three Oclock, found a Doctr. Baynham [1] here, recommended to me by Colo. Fairfax of England.

George Washington and his wife returned in the Evening from Abingdon.

My Overseer Fairfax also returned this Evening with Jack Ass, and his Keeper, a Spaniard from Boston.

Tuesday, 6th. Finished getting in the Woods the posts and railing for the fencing of my paddock.

Made another experiment of the difference on expence between burning Spermaciti and Tallow Candles which stand thus:

A Tallow Candle weighing 3 oz. 11 py. wt. burned 5 Hrs. 48 M.

A Spermaciti Do. weighing 3 oz. 8 p. wt. 18 grns. burned 7 Hrs. and 28 M., which is an hour and 40 Mints. longer than the Tallow Candle and of which when the latter was burnt out there remained 14 penny Wt. 6 grm. Hence,

[1] Dr. William Baynham, of London; he settled in Essex County, Virginia.

reckoning as in the former instance, Tallow at 1/. pr. lb. and Spermaciti at 3/. pr. lb. the latter is dearer than the former as 31½ is to ten and an half of [1]

Wednesday, 7*th*. Doctr. Baynham went away after breakfast.

Sent Mr. Shaw to Alexandria to discharge Lieutt. Governor Cushing's draft on me for 300 Silver Dollars [2] in favor of Mr. [*blank*] the order being in the hands of Mr. Taylor, and to do other business.

Took away the supports to the Arch over my Ice house.

Thursday, 8*th*. Finished removing the Earth for covering of, and the way in to my Ice House, and again set the People to taking up and planting small Pines in the Wilderness on the Right of the lawn.

Also sent to Colo. Mason's Quarter, and got young Crab trees for the Shrubberies; but not getting them home in time to plant, the Roots were buried until they could be planted in the places designed for them to morrow, or &ca.

Captn. Sullivan, of a Ship at Alexandria, agreeably to my request, came here to dinner, to interpret between me and the Spaniard who had the care of the Jack Ass sent me. My questions, and his answers respecting the Jack, are committed to writing. Captn. Sullivan returned after dinner and Captn. Fairley [3] of New York came here in the afternoon.

Friday, 9*th*. Planted the Crab trees which were brought home yesterday, and more young pine.

Saturday, 10*th*. Opened a drain into the Shoar that goes

[1] Entry unfinished.

[2] This was for the expenses of the jackass up to the time Washington's overseer came for him.

[3] Captain James Fairlie; he had been a major and aide to Baron Steuben.

from the Cellars to receive the Water from the Gutters and spout from the House top that it may be carried of under ground.

Flooring the Ice House. Preparing with the Negros for Killing Hogs on Monday.

Sunday, 11*th*. Mr. Wilson,[1] Mr. Sanderson,[2] and a Mr. Hugh Mitchell dined here and went away in the afternoon.

Monday, 12*th*. Majr. Farlie went away before breakfast, with 251 Diplomas which I had signed for the Members of the Cincinnati of the State of New York, at the request of General McDougall [3] President of that Society.

After an early breakfast George Washington, Mr. Shaw and myself went in to the woods back of Muddy hole Plantation a hunting, and were joined by Mr. Lund Washington and Mr. William Peake. About half after ten Oclock (being first plagued with the Dogs running Hogs) we found a fox near Colo. Mason's Plantation on little Hunting Creek (West fork), having followed on his Drag more than a Mile; and run him with Eight Dogs (the other 4 getting, as was supposed, after a second Fox) close and well for an hour. When the Dogs came to a fault, and to cold Hunting until 20 Minutes after 12, When being joined by the missing Dogs they put him up afresh and in about 50 Minutes killed up in an open field of Colo. Mason's, every rider and every Dog present at the Death.

Two Hounds which were lent, and sent to me yesterday by Mr. Chichester,[4] viz. a Dog named Rattler, and a Bitch named Juno, behaved very well. My French Dogs also come on — all, except the Bitch which raised Puppies, running constantly while the Scent was hot.

[1] William Wilson, of Alexandria. [2] Robert Sanderson, of Alexandria.

[3] Major-General Alexander McDougall, of New York. He had commanded in the Highlands during the latter part of the Revolutionary War.

[4] Richard Chichester.

Mr. Peake and Lund Washington came home to dinner with us.

Tuesday, 13*th*. Finished killing my Hogs — The Number and weight of which are as follow:

	No.	Wt.
River Plantn.....	44....	6814
Dogue Run Do.....	28....	4003
Muddy hole Do.....	30....	3638
Ferry..... Do.....	26....	2930
Total....	128....	17385

Out of the above Thos. Bishop and Thos. Green are each to have 500, Hezikiah Fairfax has had 480, and Morris 416, and Davy 414, leaving for family use 15075 lbs. which, with 4 Hogs killed for early Bacon (in October) weighing 810 lbs., make in all 15,885 lbs. laid up for the consumption of my Table, use of my People, and the poor who are distressed for it.

Mr. Baldwin,[1] formerly a Chaplain in the Army from Connecticut, now a Lawyer in the State of Georgia, called here on his way to the last, but would not stay to dinner.

A Mr. Douglas came here to rent my Land on Difficult run for which I asked him £50 pr. Ann., and to which he is to give an Answer after consulting his Brothers in Alexanda.

Wednesday, 14*th*. Mr. George Washington and his Wife set off to visit her friends in New Kent, &ca., Mr. Bassett's Carriage and Horses having come up for them on Sunday Night last.

Rid to the Ferry Plantn., the Mill, and Dogue Run Plantation, and went and came by the place (in front of the Ho.) where Muddy hole [people] were at work.

[1] Abraham Baldwin, chaplain of the Second Connecticut Regiment and of the Connecticut Brigade.

Thursday, 15*th*. Mr. Shaw went up to Alexandria, after dinner, to a Ball I presume, and in the Evening Joseph Winzor and Willm. Kirchwall, 2 of my tenants from Frederick, came in and stayed all Night.

Friday, 16*th*. Before dinner Joseph Hickman, another of my Tenants from Frederick, came in, to whom and those that came yesterday and —— Williams,[1] I passed Leases for the Land on which they live. All went away after it.

Saturday, 17*th*. Went to Alexandria to meet the Trustees of the Academy in that place, and offered to vest in the hands of the said Trustees, when they are permanently established by Charter, the Sum of One thousand pounds, the Interest of which only, to be applied towards the establishment of a charity School for the education of Orphan and other poor Children, which offer was accepted.[2] Returned again in the Evening — Roads remarkably wet and bad.

Monday, 19*th*. Rid to the Mill, and to Dogue Run Plantation. Took the Hounds with me, and in the Pincushion found a fox, which the Dogs run very well for an hour. After which, coming to a fault, they took (as I presume) the heel and in Muddy hole found a fresh Fox, which was only run by part of the Dogs. The others did not seem inclined to hunt.

Davy a Mulatto Man who has for many years looked after my Muddy hole Plantation, went into the Neck to take charge of the River Plantation in the room of Jno.

[1] John Williams, a Frederick tenant whose rental was ten pounds per annum.

[2] Washington found himself unable to advance the thousand pounds at that time and compromised by agreeing to pay fifty pounds annually and to arrange the permanent endowment in his will. This he did by leaving to the trustees twenty shares in the Bank of Alexandria, then worth four thousand dollars.

Alton deceased, and Will (Son of Doll) was sent to Muddy hole as an Overseer in his place.

Both my Mills stopped, and repairing.

Tuesday, 20*th*. Dispatched at his own reqt. the Spaniard who had the charge of my Jack from Spain. Sent him with Mr. Shaw to Alexandria to go in the Stage to New York.[1]

Brought some Carts and Cutters from my Plantations to assist in laying in a Stock of Fire wood for Christmas.

Mr. Shaw returned in the evening accompanied by my Nephew Ferdinando Washington.[2]

Wednesday, 21*st*. Mr. Danl. Dulany (son of Danl.), Mr. Benjn. Dulany, Messrs. Saml. and Thos. Hanson, Mr. Philip Alexander, and a Mr. Mounsher came here to Dinner and stayed all Night.

Finished measuring my Corn at the several Plantations, which stand thus:

	Barrels	
River Plantation, viz.		
Large end of Corn Ho.	203	
Small end of Ditto	135	
Fatting Hogs have eat	44	
For Mrs. Alton	6	388
Muddy hole Plantn., viz.		
In the Corn House	112	
Given to ye. fattg. Hogs	28	140

[1] Washington made Tellez a present of twenty-one pounds and furnished him with the following certificate to help him on his way:

The Bearer of this, Pedro Tellez, is the Spaniard who was sent from Bilboa in Spain with one of the Jack Asses, which was presented to me by His Catholic Majesty, and is on his journey to New York, to the Minister of Spain, with a view of returning to his own country from thence. Not being able to speak any other language than that of his native tongue, it is requested as a favor of the good people on the road to assist and direct him properly — which will be considered as an obligation conferred on

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[2] Ferdinand, or Ferdinando Washington, was the son of Samuel Washington. George Washington became displeased with his conduct and did not mention him in his will.

Dogue Run Plantn., viz.		
In corn House	45	
Given to the Hogs	30	75
Ferry Plantation — viz.		
In the Corn House	85	
Fatting Hogs	28	
Overseers share	14	127
Total		730
Deduct		
Corn already expd. on Hogs	130	
Overseers' shares	20	150
Remaining for all my purp. only		580

Went a Fox hunting with the Gentlemen who came here yesterday, together with Ferdinando Washington and Mr. Shaw, after a very early breakfast. Found a Fox just back of Muddy hole Plantation, and after a Chase of an hour and a quarter with my Dogs, and eight couple of Doctor Smith's (brought by Mr. Phil. Alexander) we put him into a hollow tree, in which we fastned him; and in the Pincushion put up another Fox which in an hour and 13 Minutes was killed. We then after allowing the Fox in the hole half an hour, put the Dogs upon his Track and in half a Mile he took to another hollow tree and was again put out of it, but he did not go 600 yards before he had recourse to the same shift. Finding therefore that he was a conquered Fox we took the Dogs off and all came home to Dinner except Mr. Danl. Dulany, who left us in the Field after the first Fox was treed. Lund Washington came home with us to dinner.

Doctr. Brown, who had been sent for to Philip Bateman, came to Dinner and returned afterwards, as did all the Gentlemen except the two Mr. Hansons and Mr. Alexander.

Friday, 23*d*. Went out with the two Mr. Hansons and Mr. Alexander, when they set out on their return after

breakfast, with the Dogs; just to try if we could touch on a Fox as we went along the Road — they homewards and I to my Plantation in the Neck. This we did, but the Scent being Cold, and seeing no great Prospect of making it out the Dogs were taken off and the Gentlemen went home, and I to Muddy hole Plantation instead of the Neck, it being too late to go to and return from the former before Dinner.

Sunday, 25*th*. Count Castiglioni,[1] Colo. Ball, and Mr. Willm. Hunter came here to dinner, the last of whom returned to Alexandria afterwards.

Wednesday, 28*th*. Colo. Ball went away yesterday, after breakfast, tho' it was unnoticed in the occurrances of the day.

A Mr. Israel Jenny of Loudon County came here in the Afternoon, respecting some Land which he has been endeavouring to obtain under an idea of its being waste, but which he finds to be within the lines of my Chattin run tract in Fauquier County, though claimed by Mr. Robert Scott who has put a Tenant upon it of the name of Jesse Hitt, who has now been upon it three years and thereafter to pay Rent.

Mr. Muse, my Collector, to be written to on this subject, as also concerning my Land in Ashby's Bend part of wch. is claimed by Mr. Landon Carter.

Thursday, 29*th*. Count Castiglioni went away after breakfast, on his tour to the Southward.

Mr. Jenny also left this at the same time.

After which I went to my Dogue run Plantation to

[1] Luigi Castiglioni, an Italian count, who made a tour of America and published an account of his travels: *Viaggio negli Stati Unite dell' America Settentrionale*. (Milan: 1790.) His mention of his visit to Mount Vernon and to Washington is merely incidental and of no value.

measure, with a view to new model the Fields at that place. Did not return until dark nor finish my Survey.

Mr. Shaw went to Alexandria to the Assembly.

Friday, 30*th*. Went to Dogue Run again to compleat my Surveys of the Fields which I did about 2 Oclock; and upon my return found Miss Sally Ramsay, Miss Kitty Washington, Mr. Porter, and Doctr. Craik, Junr. here.

Mr. Shaw also returned from Alexandria before Dinner.

Saturday, 31*st*. Rid to my Plantations in the Neck, Muddy hole, and Ferry. George Steptoe Washington came here to dinner, and after it went away the Company that came yesterday.

Landed 230 Bushels of Oats to day from an Eastern Shore vessel, and by her had brought from Alexandria the Picture drawn by Mr. Pine of Fanny Bassett now Washington and the young Custis.

END OF VOLUME II

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Washington, George.
The diaries of George Washington.